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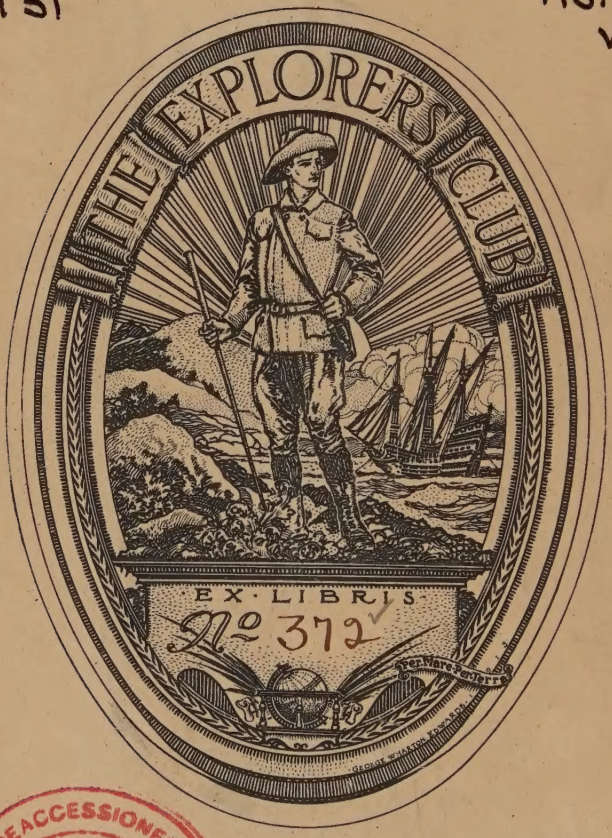

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JOHN FRYER'S EAST INDIA AND PERSIA

VOL. II

SECOND SERIES

No. XX

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A

NEW ACCOUNT

OF

EAST INDIA AND PERSIA

BEING

NINE YEARS' TRAVELS

1672—1681

BY

JOHN FRYER

EDITED WITH NOTES AND AN INTRODUCTION

BY

WILLIAM CROOKE, B.A.

FORMERLY OF THE BENGAL CIVIL SERVICE

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A

RELATION

OF THE

CANATICK-COUNTRY.

LETTER IV.

CHAP. I.

Concerning our Shipping for Carwar; *of the Factory there*; *the Unsettled Condition of the Place*; *and our coming to* Goa.

SIR,

THE Pleasure you express on the Receipt of Mine, makes me continue your Invited Trouble, as truly not enjoying any thing till I know your Sentiments; and therefore is it, next the quieting your Concern for my Life in so unhealthy a Place, I let you know *Bombaim* is my Station no longer than the President resides there: From whence you may perceive I have had Opportunities to expatiate.

And now the Rains are over, and Friendship concluded as well between particular Factions, as the *Dutch*; the President esteemed no Enemies so formidable as still to

exact his Presence on this Island; wherefore constituting Mr. *Philip Gyffard* in his Place, he took shipping in the *Fleece*, for *Surat*, accompanied by the *Rainbow*[1], *New London*, and *East-India* Merchant[2], *English* Ships, the *Bombaim* Merchant, and other Country Ships.

After some time, Curiosity more than Business tempted me to go with the Chief of *Carwar*, that I might see *Goa*. In our Passage at *Serapatan*[3], to the *South* of *Dan de Raiapore*, a Strong Castle of *Seva Gi*'s defended a deep Bay, where rode his Navy, consisting of 30 Small Ships and Vessels, the Admiral[4] wearing a White Flag aloft.

Arriving at *Carwar*[5], and the Chief going ashore, he was met on the River by the Governor with two Barges; and landing, was welcomed by the Ordnance of the *English* House.

Carwar, what remains of it, is under the New Conquest of *Seva Gi*, being lately, with *Anchola*[6], *Pundit*[7], *Cuderah*[8] and *Semissar*[9], brought under (though all of them very Strong Places): At which time the *English* were moulding a Fortification, or House of Defence, for their own safety,

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[1] The *Rainbow* sailed for the "Coast and Bay" in 1668, and probably carried T. Bowrey (Bowrey, *Intro.* xxvi).

"On the 30th Sept. the President embarked on the *Golden Fleece*" (I.O. Records. O.C. 4118, 10th October 1675).

[2] The *East India Merchant* was in the action with the Dutch in August 1674 (Bowrey, 92 *n.*).

[3] He perhaps means Sriwardhan which is situated in a bay about 12 miles S. of Janjira, near which stands Danda Rājpurī (*Bombay Gaz.* xi, 466).

[4] Here, as usual, the chief ship of the squadron.

[5] See vol. i, 151.

[6] Ankola in N. Kanara District, 15 miles S.E. of Kārwār (*Bombay Gaz.* xv, Pt II, 257).

[7] Phonda on the pass of the same name in the S.E. corner of the Ratnagirī District, commanding one of the chief routes into N. Kanara (*Ibid.* xv, Pt II, 127: Grant Duff, 116 f.).

[8] Kādra in N. Kanara District, on the Kālinadī river, about 20 miles N.E. of Kārwār (*Bombay Gaz.* xv, Pt II, 317).

[9] Shiveshwar or Halekot, a fort now ruined, 4 miles N. of Sadashivgad, a little N. of Kārwār in N. Kanara District (*Ibid.* p. 341).

when by the Assistance of a Small Pink they defended themselves from all Hostile Mischances; and though their Town was wholly laid in Ashes, yet they built this their stately Mansion Four-square, guarded by Two Bulwarks at the Commanding Corners of the House: In the mean while *Seva Gi* made himself Master of *Carwar* Castle, together with the rest, the Inhabitants flying to the Woods and Hills for shelter[1]: Thus it continues not without daily disturbance from these *Sylvans* and *Mountaineers*, the commiserated Subjects of *Visiapour*, who often make an Head and fall upon them; by which means the Government is unsetled, and the Governors shift from Place to Place.

Our House stands on a delicate Mead (on the Ground of **** *Cutteen* Esq[2]; a *Cornish* Gentleman, who had it by grant from the King of *Visiapour*, being impowered by a Claim of his Countrymen to the Right of Trading to the *East-Indies*, but long since left off) Seated on an Arm of the River, surveying a pleasant Island stored with Game: The Castle is nearer the Hills, and higher up the Streams; about a League off the Sea the Hills guard the Plain till they make a Bank against the Ocean.

Seva in his Government imitates the *Moors* in this, appointing a distinct Governor here for Town and Castle, and over all these a Commander with a Flying Army, who is Superintendent: Into Places of Trust and Authority he puts only *Brachmins*[3], or their Substitutes, *viz. Pundits*[4],

[1] Fryer (vol. i, 151 f.) refers to an attack on Kārwār by Sivajī. In 1665 he exacted a contribution of Rs. 1120 from the factory (Anderson, 76: Grant Duff, 91).

[2] He possibly refers to Sir William Courten, who died in 1636, when his license was renewed to his son W. Courten and his associates (Hunter, *H. of B. India*, ii, 33 ff., 38: Hedges, *Diary*, ii, 237).

[3] Sivajī was in favour of appointing Brāhmans to official posts (Grant Duff, 101 ff.).

[4] He probably refers to their moral character: their social rank, as Brāhmans, would necessarily be high. The Vaidu, or medicine-hawkers, are wandering Telugu beggars (*Bombay Gaz.* xvii, 212 ff.; xviii, Pt I, 477 ff.; xix, 123 f.): cf. vol. i, 287.

(a mean cast) for Physicians; *Sfosdars*[1] or Centurions, *Subidars*[2], *Havaldars*, Civil Governors, Generals or Fighting Bishops; of whom truly may be said, *Privata cuique stimulatio vile decus publicum*[3]. They are neither for Publick Good or Common Honesty, but their own private Interest only: They refuse no Base Offices for their own Commodity, inviting Merchants to come and trade among them, and then rob them, or else turmoil them on account of Customs; always in a Corner getting more for themselves than their Master, yet openly must seem mighty zealous for their Master's Dues: So that Trade is unlikely to settle where he hath any thing to do; notwithstanding his Country lies all along on the Sea-shore, and no Goods can be transported without his Permission; unless they go a great way about, as we are forced to do.

It is a General Calamity, and much to be deplored, to hear the Complaints of the poor People that remain, or are rather compelled to endure the Slavery of *Seva Gi:* The *Desies*[4] have Land imposed upon them at double the former Rates, and if they refuse to accept it on these hard Conditions (if Monied Men) they are carried to Prison, there they are famished almost to death; racked and tortured most inhumanly till they confess where it is: They have now in Limbo several *Brachmins*, whose Flesh they tear with Pincers heated Red-hot, drub them on the Shoulders to extreme Anguish, (though according to their Law it is forbidden to strike a *Brachmin*[5].) This is the accustomed Sawce all *India* over, the Princes doing the same by the Governors, when removed from their Offices, to squeeze their ill-got Estates out of them; which when

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[1] Pers. *faujdār*, a military commandant (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 358).

[2] Pers. *sūbahdār*, officer in charge of a *sūbah* (*Ibid.* 856).

[3] Tacitus, *Hist.* i, 90.

[4] See vol. i, 301.

[5] The penalties for assaulting a Brāhman are prescribed by Manu (*Instit.* iv, 165–169; xi, 68).

they have done, it may be they may be employ'd again: And after this fashion the *Desies* deal with the *Combies*[1]; so that the Great Fish prey on the Little, as well by Land as by Sea, bringing not only them, but their Families into Eternal Bondage.

However, under the King of *Visiapour* the Taxations were much milder, and they lived with far greater comfort; but since the Death of the late King, his Son being in Minority, and the Kingdom left to a Protector, the Nobles, who held their Provinces as Feudatories or rather Vassals of him, begin to withdraw their Duty; *Bullul Caun*[2], General under the Protector *Cowis Caun*[3], an *Hobsy*, or *Arabian Coffery* (they being preferred here to Chief Employments, which they enter on by the Name of *Siddies*) having but the other day set upon the Protector and assassinated him; who was so terrible to *Seva Gi*'s Men, that to render him the more dreadful, they speak of his *Hobsies* after this manner, That with their Swords they are able to cut down Man and Horse: That greater Commotions than yet have happened, are to be expected in this Kingdom; not only *Seva Gi*, but the *Mogul* at this time bidding for the Kingdom.

Bullul Caun is a good Soldier, and a *Patan*; yet as much envied by the *Duccan* Princes, as *Cowis Caun* was by him; whereupon it behoves him to be watchful of their Motions, to which Vigilancy adding Expedition, he yet keeps them from joining Forces: Where leaving him on his Guard, I will present you with a small Taste of the Condition of the People about us, which fell out the Day

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[1] See vol. i, 320.

[2] Bahlol Khān, or Abdul Karīm Bahlol Khān, son of Bahlol Khān, an Afghān, originally a follower of the famous Khān Jahān Lodī, and afterwards a general under the Nizām Shāhī State (Grant Duff, 114 *n.*).

[3] Khawās Khān, originally a Habshī or Abyssinian slave, son of Khān Muhammad. He was assassinated by Karīm Shīrzah in 1675 (*Ibid.* 119).

before I set out for *Goa*, being desirous to be present at the *Natal*.

Early in the Morning came *Delvi*'s[1] Men, 500 in Company; whereupon *Seva Gi*'s Men being but 100 Foot, and 25 Horse, retired into the Castle; miserable Souls for Soldiers on both sides; they look'd like our old *Britains*, half naked, and as fierce, where all lies open before them: They had a loud Noise of Musick, and a tumultuous Throng of People, and thus they marched on without any Order, till they encamped near our House: Their Leader was a Man of a good Presence, but a Rogue, an *Hindu* by Birth, a Soldier by Education; making this his Maxim, *Ibi Fas ubi maxima Merces:* There is the greatest Right where is the best Pay.

At Noon, by the Hurly-burly of all Ranks of Men, Women, and Children, with what little Substance they had, flying under our Guns for Succour, we were given to understand *Seva Gi*'s Men were in Motion (whom they dread more than the other); but on appearance of the *Desy*'s *Grob*[2] they retreated again: This *Desy* is one that was *Rendero*[3] of all this Country, under the King of *Visiapour*, and had 1000 Men under him (of whom *Delvi* was Chief); but being entrapped by his Subtilties, whom he least suspected (being raised by him), he was forced to subscribe to the Power of *Seva*; of whom *Delvi* not having his Ends, he turns about, and does promise to set his former Master in Possession once more. At Night we had Letters (for you must know both Parties *Salam* to us, being in so strong an House, else we should be liable to their Fury), That *Seva Gi*'s Party of Horse, whilst *Delvi* had passed the River, seized his Baggage, which was left

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[1] Dalaway, leader of an armed force (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 292 f.).
[2] Ar. *ghurāb*, "a crow, raven"; thence a galley (*Ibid.* 391 f.).
[3] See vol. i, 307.

guarded by 60 Men, whereof he having Notice, soon overtakes them, and causes them to surrender their Booty, driving them to the Castle, with the loss of two of their Horses, and one *Cavaleiro* slain: Under these Circumstances these Folks are left to struggle, without hope of Relief from *Visiapour*, they being all to pieces there.

The next Morning, in the Company's *Baloon*[1] of 16 Oars, with seven *Peons*, two *English* Soldiers, two Factors, and my self, having a Competency of Arms and Ammunition, with a small Piece a-head, we set Sail for *Goa*. We had not gone far down the River, before we met two Boats full of Men for a Supply to *Seva Gi*. Near Sun-set we reached an Oyster-Rock[2], on which we landed, and fed plentifully, being in their prime this cold Season; our Bargemen would frequently dive 9 or 10 Minutes, and rise with great Lumps of Oysters clodded together, as big as a Man could well carry. The next Morn we put into the River *Sal*[3], half way to *Goa:* At Three in the Afternoon we entred the Mouth of *Goa* River, where in convenient Places stand four Forts and a Block-house, not only impassable by Water, but impregnable by Land; as the *Dutch* proved them twelve Years together, having a Fleet riding constantly before them, and for that time, while the *Monsoons* permitted, making continual Assaults, but with little Success: On the left, stored with Brass Pieces, stands the *Agoada*[4], or the King's Aquaduct, running from the

[1] See vol. i, 182.

[2] The Oyster Rocks, or Devgad, a cluster of islands 2 miles W. of Kārwār (*Bombay Gaz.* xv, Pt II, 337).

[3] The Sāl river runs close to the town of Margão, and discharges itself into the sea near the fort of Betul (Fonseca, *Sketch of the City of Goa*, 3). P. della Valle (ii, 391) calls it Rio del Sale.

[4] The fortresses of Agoada on N. and Cabo on S. lie without the bar of the Mandāvī or river of Goa, in the estuary between Bardez and Pangim. This was a watering-place for ships: hence the name. It was erected in 1612 (Fonseca, 40 ff.: P. della Valle, i, 154: Manucci, ii, 275: Pyrard de Laval, ii, 29 f.). For its position see the map in Dalboquerque, ii, 88.

Top of the highest Hill to the Water-side, where for a consi[d]erable Space is a Platform of their chiefest Ordnance; facing this is the Fort and Monastery of *Nos Signior de Cabo*[1], a pleasant as well as strong Citadel: Beyond this, in a wide but dangerous Bay (so that what Boats come in must pass the Channel under the Muzzles of the Guns) stands *Marmagoun*[2], defending that Island and Bay: By the Bar is *Roys Magi*[3] on the Left, and *Gasper de Dios*[4] on the Right: Before Sun-set we came to Captain *Gary*'s[5] House at *Pangeim*[6], over the Bar a Mile; a Seat by reason of the Healthiness of the Air chosen by the *Fidalgoes*, who have beautified it with their Summer-houses; the Viceroy having a Palace here, where he retires in the Heats and time of Shipping: *Betu*[7] on the other side enjoys the same good Fortune.

The Eve to the Eve of the *Natal*, or *Christmas*, we came up the River, adorned all along with stately Churches

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[1] The fort was named Nossa Señora do Cabo, which Pyrard de Laval writes Nuestra Señora del Capbo (ii, 30 f.). This fort, now in ruins, lies on the W. extremity of the island of Goa, crossing fire with Agoada and Mormugão forts (Fonseca, 43 ff.).

[2] The fort of Mormugão, commanding the S. entrance, is on a peninsula at the extreme N.W. point of Salsette. It was begun in 1624 (Fonseca, 42: P. della Valle, i, 154; ii, 392).

[3] The fort of Reis Magos, "the Magi," is on the S.E. extremity of the table-land on the right bank of the Mandāvī, in Bardes province, about 2 miles N.E. of Agoada. It was built in 1551 (Fonseca, 44 f.). Manucci (ii, 275) calls it the Fort of the Kings. "The place appointed for the Viceroyes buriall, is a Cloister called Reys Magos, or the three Kings of Cullen, being of the order of St Francis, which standeth in ye land of Bardes, at the mouth of the River of Goa" (Linschoten, ii, 201).

[4] The fort of Gaspar Dias is on the island of Goa, 1½ miles E. of Cabo, and faces Reis Magos. It was erected in 1598, but is now dilapidated (Fonseca, 45 f.).

[5] See vol. i, 166.

[6] Pangim or New Goa on the left or S. bank of the Mandāvī. Its rise dates from 1759, when, on account of pestilence, the vice-regal residence was transferred to this place from Old Goa. In 1843 by royal decree it was declared to be the Capital of Portuguese India (Fonseca, 97 ff.).

[7] Betim opposite Pangim.

and Palaces; the Water circling with its Stream several Islets, and half-way up to the City passes under a Bridge of 36 Arches of Stone; and from thence runs a Causeway of Stone two Miles in length, admitting the Flood only by two Sluces, into Wears or Dams made for Fish and Salt, and ends with three Arches more[1]: A little beyond which is depainted on a Church, a Story of a Ship brought from *Cape Bon Esperanzo*, hither in one Night, and fixed where the Church is now built, and by that means helping them with Timber for the Roof, and two Crosses set up as far off as the Ship was in length[2]; whether true or false, I ask no questions, for fear of the Inquisition, which here is a terrible Tribunal. At Noon we came in view of *Goa*, not without the sight of a many Baloons passing to and again very swiftly, it being the greatest Pastime they have to Row against one another; more bewitched with such outward Gallantry, than prompted on to more Ben[e]ficial Charges; their *Europe* Ships lying here neglected till they rot for want of Cargo, Three great Carracks being ready to drop in Pieces; notwithstanding they have small Trading Ships in the River, and against the City, beside a Carrack under the *Agoada*, which they send home this Year.

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[1] The causeway connecting Ribandar with Pangim, 9542 feet long, supported by three arches on the eastern side in the middle, and thirty-eight on the W., was built in 1633–4 (Fonseca, 331).

[2] Grose (p. 272) speaks of "the ship that came in a night from the Cape of Good Hope plump into the harbour of Goa, a distance of some thousands of miles, the Devil holding the helm, and the Virgin Mary at the cond ["rudder," which as a noun is not to be found in *New Eng. Dict.*], in quality of quarter-master, in proof of which they show you at Goa two monuments of stone, expressing the exact length of the ship's keel." Mr J. A. Ismael Gracias, writing from Nova Goa, 24th November, 1908, says: "History makes no mention of the fact; but there is a tradition current in Goa that in former times, in front of Ribandar, a large ship was wrecked, the length of which was preserved in memory thereof by means of two crosses erected on shore. Besides this, it is also stated that the planks of the ship were used in roofing the Church of the Parish of Ribandar. The two crosses still exist."

CHAP. II.

Takes a View of Goa; *makes a Voyage to* Vingula; *Engages with the* Malabars, *and returns us to* Carwar.

THE City of *Goa*[1] looks well at a small distance, not being to be seen far by reason of the adjacent Hills and windings of the River; it is Ten Miles up the River, stands upon Seven Hills; every where Colleges, Churches, and glorious Structures; it has Gates to it, and a Wall; it is Modelled but rudely, many Houses disgracing it with their Ruins, the Streets interfereing most confusedly: We were directed to a Tavern against the See, the Habitation of the Archbishop of the Order of St. *Bernard*[2]; which the Clergy here mightily stomach, especially the Jesuits, who bend not to his Authority, having a Provost of their own, going in as great State as the Archbishop; he appears abroad in a Sedan, and has Eight Clerico's on Foot Bareheaded, walking on each side, beside other Attendance: The Cathedral is not often excelled by ours at home for the bigness of the Pile; the Architecture but Plain, though very Neat; the Altar and side Chappels filled with Images of delicate Sculpture of our Blessed Saviour and the Virgin Mother, Gilded all over with Gold[3].

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[1] The name is derived from Govarāshtra, an old name of the S. Konkan (*Bombay Gaz.* i, Pt II, 282 *n.*: Fonseca, 114: Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 379).

[2] The Archiepiscopal Palace, occupied about 1608, was abandoned in 1695, when, on account of pestilence, the Archbishop retired to Panelim in the suburbs. Dom Fr. Francisco dos Martyres took charge of the See, as 13th Archbishop, in 1636, and on his death in 1652 the See remained vacant for twenty-two years. Dom Fr. Christovão da Silveira was appointed in 1672, but died on his voyage to India. He was followed by Fr. Antonio de Brandão (1675–78), and Dom Manuel de Souza e Menezes (1681–84).

[3] The Cathedral in the Rua Direita, the most ancient and celebrated religious building in Goa, and the only place where service is held on a grand scale every day (Fonseca, 198 ff.: Burton, *Goa*, 60, who gives

From thence we were brought to the College of the *Dominicans*[1], the Seat of the Inquisidor, who is always one of this Order; a magnificent Front to the Street, ascending by many steps, being a huge Fabrick; the Church surpassed the Cathedral, the Pillars from top to bottom being overlaid with a Golden Wash, and on the Walls the Martyrology of their Order: In the *Sacristan* were Massy Silver Candlesticks, and other Vessels very Rich; the Dormitories elegantly contrived in upper and lower Walks, and the whole without Compare to others that fell in our Ken: *Erasm. Vincit opibus Parathalassium tot candelabra argentea, tot statuæ aureæ, Baptisteria, &c.* The Habit is a white Vesture with a Crotchet under a black Gown, or Cowl, like Nuns. Their College was well replenished with Devotes, and commanded a blessed Prospect.

The *Paulistines* enjoy the biggest of all the Monasteries at St. *Roch*[2]; in it is a Library, an Hospital, and an Apothecary's Shop well furnished with Medicines, where *Gasper Antonio*, a *Florentine*, a Lay-Brother of the Order, the Author of the *Goa* Stones[3], brings them in 50000

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a drawing of the edifice). It was called Sé Primacial, the Assee of Pyrard de Laval (ii, 53).

[1] The Convent and Church of St Dominic, E. of the Cathedral, erected by the Dominicans, the first missionaries to Goa, who arrived in 1548. It is now in ruins (Fonseca, 68, 250 ff.: Pyrard de Laval, ii, 49).

[2] The ruins of the College and Church of St Paul lie in the high road, S. of the Carmelite Convent. The College was begun in 1541 and was finished in the following year. In 1544 St Francis Xavier came to live here, and later assumed full charge. The Church was built in 1560. At Kloguen's visit in 1827 both buildings were in ruins, and were demolished a few years later by the Government (Fonseca, 260). Pyrard de Laval (ii, 55, 96) describes the institution, which in his time contained 3000 students. For the origin of the title Paulistine, see vol. i, 183.

[3] A factitious article much in repute in the 17th century, a minute dose of powder scraped from one of them being daily administered. Horace Walpole in 1772 secured one which belonged to Gray (*Letters*, ed. Mrs Toynbee, viii, 196). For other references see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 379.

Xerephins[1], by that invention Annually; he is an Old Man, and almost Blind, being of great Esteem for his long practice in Physick, and therefore applied to by the most Eminent of all Ranks and Orders in this City; it is Built like a Cross, and shews like a Seraglio on the Water.

We paid a Visit to the *Domo* of *Bon Jesu*[2], the Church an admirable Piece, the Repository of St. *Xaverius*, the *Indian* Apostle, where is a famous Tomb in Honour of him, who first spread the Gospel as far as *China*, and sealed it with his Martyrdom, near Two hundred Years ago, leaving his Body a Miraculous Relick of his better part, it still retaining its vivid Colour and Freshness, and therefore exposed once a Year to publick view, on the Vespers of his Festival.

St. *Paul*'s was the first Monastery of the Jesuits in *Goa*, from whence they receive the Name of *Paulistins*; it is the Seat therefore of their Provost, who is Independent, and Rules *suo Jure*.

The Jesuits are Clad in Black Gowns with a Collar and Rings, with high round Caps flat at top, Shoes but no Stockins, as few indeed, either Clergy or Laity have here: (*Por Amor de Frisco*[3]).

Of all Orders when they die they are Inhumed in the Habit of the Order they belong to, without Coffins.

The Policy, as well as the Trade, of this place, is mostly

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[1] A silver coin, worth somewhat less than 1*s.* 6*d.* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 974).

[2] The House and Church of Bom Jesus in the centre of the city, built in 1589, though partially destroyed by time and fire, are still majestic and imposing buildings. The Church contains the splendid sarcophagus of St Francis Xavier (1506–52), the body having been deposited here in 1624. The last time it was exposed to view was in 1859 (Fonseca, 279 ff.: Manucci, iii, 174: Pyrard de Laval, ii, 54, 59, 97). For the life of the Saint, see Mr Gray's note on Pyrard de Laval, ii, 62, with a drawing of his tomb.

[3] For love of coolness.

devolved from private Persons on the *Paulistins*, wherefore this saying is in every Body's Mouth;

A Fransiscano guardo minha mulier;
A Paulistino guardo minha denier[1].

We went to the Convent of St. *Austin*'s[2], Inhabited by that Order, who when they go out, wear Black Gowns (girt about with a Leathern Girdle) like our Bachelors of Arts, with Black Hoods; within doors White, of the same Fashion with a Scapulary.

We saw several Seminaries, or Schools, where the Students dispute in long Cloaks, or Vests.

We saw the Convent, or Church, of the *Franciscans*[3], or Grey Friars, with Cords instead of Girdles about their Middles, Sandals instead of Shoes; they wear Grey Broad brimmed Hats, as Countrymen do, as well as Cowls abroad, their Habit being borrowed of the Rusticks; they touch not Money, but carry one with them that will, and are Mendicants.

The College of *Carmelites*[4] is on an high Mount,

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1 *Ao Franciscano guardo* [or *guarda*] *minha mulher*;
Ao Paulista guardo meu dinheiro.

Mr Ferguson notes that in the Indo-Portuguese of Fryer the feminine pronoun is used before words of both genders. He cannot trace the origin of the couplet.

2 The Convent and Church of St Augustine, W. of the city: described by Mandelslo in 17th century as resembling one of the noblest palaces in the world, were erected in 1572, abandoned in 1835, and are now a heap of ruins (Fonseca, 311 ff.: Pyrard de Laval, ii, 57). The Augustinians came to Goa after the Dominicans in 1572 (Fonseca, 68).

3 The College of St Bonaventura, erected by the Provincial of the Franciscans in 1602, fell into ruins after the suppression of the religious orders in 1835, and was finally demolished in 1870. It was on the river side, W. of the Arsenal (Fonseca, 242 f.).

4 Convent and Church of the Carmelites, near the hill of Nossa Senhora de Monte, were erected in 1607–12. The Carmelites, being foreigners, were expelled in 1707, and their buildings were made over to the Congregation of St Philip Neri. The buildings are now ruined (Fonseca, 256 ff.: P. della Valle, i, 162: Manucci, iii, 160).

prospecting the whole City, it is a fine Building; these are Begging Friars too, Eat only Fish, except in Sickness, Cloathed with a course Russet Tippet Coat and Vest, girt about with a Cord: In their Hall where they Repast, at the upper end on the Table is placed a Death's Head; over their Cells, Sentences denoting each Virtue, which were Wrote in Capital Letters of Gold over the Doors, as Fortitude, Patience, and the like: Here we left many Devout Old Men on their Knees, Praying Fervently, and Living Piously.

We descended from this lovely spectacle to the *Spittle*[1], where we found the Poor faring well from their Benefactors.

The forepart of their Vespers to the *Natal*, I spent at the King's Hospital; where their Care for the Sick is commendable, an handsome Apothecary's Shop furnishing them with Medicines: The Physicians here are great Bleeders, insomuch that they exceed often *Galen*'s Advice, *ad deliquium*, in Fevers; hardly leaving enough to feed the Currents for Circulation; of which Cruelty some complain invidiously after Recovery.

In our return we saw a Nunnery, and the Nuns at their Devotion, a Confessor through the Grates Reading Mass, and performing the Ceremonies to a Couple with Maiden-Crowns on their Heads, ready to be admitted into the Virgin Society:

——— *Innuptæque æmula Phebos*
Vitta coercebat positos sine lege capillos[2].

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[1] The famous Royal Hospital, begun by Dalboquerque. Pyrard, who was treated there, gives a good account of it (ii, 3 ff.): but by the time of Tavernier (ed. Ball, i, 197 ff.) it had fallen into disrepute. It was removed in 1760 to the College of St Roch, and thence to the Viceroy's Palace in Panelim. The original building has now disappeared, the site being included in the Arsenal (Fonseca, 228 ff.).

[2] Ovid, *Metam.* i, 477 f.

They had good Faces and excellent Voices; the Nunnery was called St. *Monacha*[1]; here is another of St. *Clara*'s[2].

Near the Palace is a Modern, but a compleat Convent of the *Theatini*[3], where Captain *Gary* staid to shew us the Palace[4], not so Sumptuous as Convenient; passing the Guards we were usher'd into a long Gallery, hung round with the Pictures at length of all the Vice-Roys that had been in *East-India* down to the present Vice-Roy: At the upper end was the Canopy Royal and Chair of State; upon information of our being there, we were introduced the Vice-Roys Presence; he received us Standing, and after a little Conference, dismissed us. A Proper Man,

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[1] The Convent and Church of St Monica, erected in 1627 by Dom Fr. Aleixo de Menezes, Archbishop of Goa. When Fonseca wrote (1878) he remarked: "The property...will probably, after the death of the only nun now left, be appropriated by the State, while the Convent, built at a great cost by the first Primate of the East, will, like the others, be abandoned to its fate." It was the only Convent open to nuns, not only of European, but also of Eurasian and native extraction (Fonseca, 304, 307). It has been described by many travellers, such as Pyrard de Laval, ii, 58: P. della Valle, ii, 414: Linschoten, i, 178. Manucci (iii, 161, 277) describes it as the sole refuge for unprotected ladies at Goa. Burton (*Goa*, 72 ff.) tells, in his usual style, a scandalous tale about it.

[2] Fryer seems to have been mistaken in speaking of this Nunnery as actually existing. Mr J. A. Ismael Gracias informs me that it was at first intended that the College of St Bonaventure should include a Sisterhood of St Clara, and funds were collected for its foundation: but the scheme was abandoned owing to the opposition of the Archbishop, Dom Fr. Aleixo de Menezes.

[3] The Congregation of Regular Clerks, deriving their name from Theate or Chieti, of which John Peter Caraffa, one of their founders, was Bishop: founded in 1524 (Addis-Arnold, *Catholic Dict.*[2] 876 f.). The Goa Mission was established in 1640, and thence extended to the Deccan, Malabar, Golkonda, Sumatra, and Borneo (Fonseca, 65: Manucci, iii, 117). Padre Gulielmo de Valle, a member of the Order, was licensed to Cuddalore in 1695 (Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Times*, i, 273 ff., 296).

[4] The Palace, known as La Fortalesa del Vice Rey (Pyrard de Laval, ii, 47) began to fall into decay when the Viceroy removed to Pangim in 1759, and is now in ruins. The paintings described by Fryer are apparently those now in the entrance hall of the new Palace of the Governor (Fonseca, 100, 195). Burton (*Goa*, 42) says that at the time of his visit they had been very badly restored. The portraits in the Resende MS. in the British Museum seem to be copies of them (Pyrard de Laval, ii, 50: Manucci, iii, 168 f.).

Courteous to Strangers, his Name *Lewis Mendosa de Albuquerque*[1], newly created Marquess by the King; in this Room was another Canopy of State, with the Arms of *Portugal.* Coming into the Court-yard we saw some Men in Gowns, like our Aldermen, the Emburgadors[2], or Council of the City, going to attend the Vice-Roy to his Devotion at the Church of *Misericord*[3], where was to be Presented a Pious Comedy; but their Representations being too tedious, and the generality making Religion the least of their business, not respecting either God or the King, they made such a rout among the Women, that we were glad to leave and Reimbark for our Lodgings.

At Night we were alarmed by a paultry Fellow that took our House for his Sanctuary, being forced to it for his own Security; the Soldiers assuming great license for want of Pay, and the *Cofferies* for want of Victuals, so that every one walks the City with his naked Sword in his Hand for his own defence at Evening; and now within Doors, and in a Private House, we were forced to make our Arms our Pillows.

The next day we passed the *Bar* for *Vingula*[4]; half way we put ashore to refresh our Men, and at Ten in the Morn set out again; by Twelve we came close up with a *Malabar* that had seised a *Grob*, but we soon made him yield his Prize to engage with us; which they did briskly for Two hours, striving to board us, casting Stink-pots[5]

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[1] Luis de Mendonça Furtado de Albuquerque, Conde de Lavradio, was Viceroy between 1671 and 1677.

[2] Desembargadores: but these were judges. He seems to mean the vereadores or aldermen.

[3] Santa Casa de Miserecordia, in the chapel of which various rites were performed. Pyrard de Laval (ii, 51) confounds it with that of N. S. da Serra. The "beautiful church, called Miserecordia" of A. Hamilton (*New Account*, i, 249) seems to be a later building on the same site. See Fonseca, 244 f.

[4] Vengurla in Ratnagirī District: Lat. 15° 50′ N.: Long. 73° 38′ E.

[5] The use of these hand-bombs or grenades is common in China (Gray, *China*, ii, 255: Ball, *Things Chinese*[3], 39).

among us, which broke without any Execution, but so frighted our Rowers, that we were forced to be severe to restrain them; they plied their Chambers[1] and small Shot, and flung Stones, flourishing their Targets and Darting Long Lances; they were well Manned in a Boat ten times as big as our Barge, and at least Sixty fighting Men besides Rowers; we had none to manage our small Gun, the Gunner running away at *Goa* after Sluts in Brothels: One of the Factors undertaking it, was blown up by a Cartrige of Powder, and squenched his Cloaths a-flame in the Ocean, so that they were fully bent to board us; but they rising to come in, they all this while having sculked under their Targets, we discharged our Blunderbusses, which made them sheer off, never to come near us again; after which we chased them, they flying afore us[2].

The Spectators of this Encounter were the *Dutch* Chief[3] and Governor on the Shore, and a Ship of a dozen Guns in the Road; by Three we came a-shore with slight Hurts but cried up mightily by the People, who are continually infested by these Pirats without any Resistance: The *Dutch* receiv'd us at their Factory very kindly, whose House is handsomely seated a Mile up a Shallow River, (except at Spring Tides, when lusty Ships may come up); it is built upon Arches Geometrically, by the present Chief, in the Figure of a *Roman* T, all of Solid Stone; it is Trenched with a Square Trench, and defended by a Platform of Two Great Guns on every side, and Two Great Bulwarks, bearing Smaller Guns at the Two Corners

[1] Small guns without a carriage, used chiefly for firing salutes.

[2] The atrocities of the pirates of the Malabar Coast are referred to by many writers. Ptolemy mentions the Konkan coast as Ariakē of the Pirates (McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, 45 f.). For more recent accounts see Hakluyt, iii, 220 f.: Linschoten, i, 73 f.; ii, 169 f. Pyrard de Laval (ii, 509 ff.) gives an account of Kunhāli the noted corsair. The earlier literature is quoted in Yule, *Marco Polo*, ii, 389 f. Also see vol. i, 164.

[3] The Dutch factory was founded in 1638, and was successively burnt down by Sivajī in 1664 and by the Mughals in 1675.

of the House; the Front is *Italian* Fashion, passing to it over a Draw-Bridge; at Night we walked into the Town, part of it lately destroyed by the *Syddy*; where was a *Buzzar*, and a neat *Choultry* of the *Dutch*'s, and beyond a Garden watered by a Fresh Stream, where we bathed: After Supper they treated us with the Dancing Wenches, and good Soops of Brandy and *Delf*'s[1] Beer till it was late enough.

We went next day to the Governor, who Complimented us highly; he is under the Tyrannical Government of *Seva Gi*, where all Barbarous Customs are exercised; and here it is permitted the Women not only to burn with their dead Husbands, but here are many Monuments raised in honour of them.

Et certamen habent læthi, quæ viva sequatur
Conjugium; pudor est non licuisse mori.
Ardent victrices & flammæ pectora præbent,
Imponuntque suis ora perusta viris[2].

A shame 'tis not to die; they therefore strive,
Who may be fam'd to follow him alive.
The Victor burns, yields to the Flame her Breast,
And her burnt Face does on the Husband rest.

Which Custom, if we believe *Tertullian*, is as old as *Dido*, on a generous Account; not by constraint, as these are mostly said to be.

Dido profuga in alieno solo, ubi regis nuptias ultro optasse debuerat, ne tamen secundas expeteretur, maluit è contrario uri quam nubere. The Famous *Dido*, driven a Stranger into another Country, was courted by the King, which one would have thought she should willingly have entertained, rather than to refuse a Second Marriage on so hard Terms, as to burn her self alive, for fear of polluting her self thereby; which shews that *Virgil* in his Account of that Lady killing her self for *Æneas*, was a Fiction more to his own Credit than hers.

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[1] Delft. [2] Propertius, iii, 12, 19 f.

At *Hubly*[1] in this Kingdom are a *Cast* called *Linguits*[2], who are buried upright, whose Wives when they have a mind to accompany their Husbands into another World, are set in the same Pit with them, covered up to the Shoulders with Mold; who after Ceremonies performed, have their Necks wrung round, and the Pit filled up with Earth immediatly.

Our Factors having Concerns in the Cargo of the Ships in this Road, loaded two *Grobs* and departed; I leaving them to prosecute their Voyage, I put in at *Goa* again; and in Captain *Gary*'s *Baloon* rowed round the Island over against *Goa*, where the Industry of the *Portugueze* Ancestry is worthy of our commendation, in securing their Land both from Water and their Enemies, by strong Banks and necessary Block-Houses; *Seva Gi* possessing all against it, called *Norway*[3], famous for Curtisans.

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[1] In Dharwār District: Lat. 15° 20′ N.: Long. 75° 13′ E.

[2] Lingāyat, "wearers of the *lingam*," the emblem of Siva. At the present day they do not bury the dead standing. The Jangams, or priests, after death are put in a cloth bag, and placed in a sitting posture in a niche excavated in the side of the grave (*Bombay Gaz.* xxii, 115). The practice of interring wives with their dead husbands seems to have prevailed in former times. "Also in this Kingdome I have seen among the base sort of people this use and order, that the man being dead, hee is carried to the place where they will make his sepulchre, and setting him as it were upright, then commeth his wife before him on her knees...untill such time as the masons have made a wall round about them, and when the wall is as high as their neckes, there commeth a man behind the woman and strangleth her: then when she is dead, the workemen finish the wall over their heads, and so they lie buried both together" (Caesar Fredericke, in Hakluyt, iii, 215). Barbosa (p. 94 f.) gives a similar account, which his editor compares with the tale of Sindibad, who by an inversion or misapprehension of the custom, was buried with his wife (Burton, *Ar. Nights*, iv, 381). See also Tavernier, ed. Ball, ii, 216: Thevenot, *Voyage*, 253: Grose, 143: Chevers, *Medical Jurisprudence*, 657.

[3] Naroa or Narva on Piedade or Divar island, about 2½ miles N.E. of Goa city. Another settlement of these women was at Saroda or Siridao, on the coast, 6 miles S.W. of Goa (Campbell, *My Indian Journal*, 211: Burton, *Goa*, 117 ff.). See Manucci, iv, 451: Fonseca, 49: P. della Valle, i, 186; ii, 436: Linschoten, i, 181: Grose, 225. "*Goa* is compact with a strong and beautiful wall, proud in her aspiring Turrets, dreadfull in many sorts of tormenting Cannons" (Herbert, 33).

Hence I went to the King's Yard, where lay half a Score Galeons fitted for any Expedition; in these the Best *Fidalgos* think it no scorn to go Commanders, it being the only thing they can serve their Country in; these are they they send out with their *Caphalas* to convoy them, when they return with Corn either from the *North* or the *South*; when every *Cabesso de Squadroon*[1] has Two or three Royal Galleys under him, that wear the Arms of *Portugal* in their Ancients only, and the *Admirante*, *Vice Admirante* and Captain-Major wear the King's Flag aloft as well as a Stern: The best of these carry no more than Eight or Ten Small Pieces, and the rest fewer; over all these there is a *Generalissimo* both by Sea and Land, who is *John Corea de Saw*.

Incited daily by New Wonders, I intended to inviron the Island of *Goa*; which is circled by High and Strong Walls, with Flankiers on every winding of the River, besides Four or Five lusty Block-Houses, commanding the whole Work, a thing of vast Compass and Expence, striking through the heart of the Island; which is altogether near Thirty Miles in Circumference[2], the Wall parting it in the half: We passed as far as to the Fort of St. *Lawrence*[3], which is placed conveniently to command the Mouth of the River from *Marmagoun* Bay; we endeavoured farther, but Wind and Tide prevented us; wherefore thinking it more facile to enterprise it on the other side, we deferred it till another day: All the Land about *Goa* is divided into Islets, it lying in the heart of them: Whereupon the next day that lay fair for our Design we came over the Bar, and sailed with a favourable Wind into *Marmagoun* Bay; on the right part of it were many pretty Coves, or

[1] Port. *cabeça da esquadra*.

[2] Pyrard de Laval (ii, 24) estimates the circuit of the island to be 8 leagues.

[3] San Lorenço at the mouth of the river entering Mormugão Bay.

small Bays, in one of whom rode near twenty *Grobs*, loaden with Cocoe-Nuts, Cair, Salt and Salt Fish: Beyond it half a League an Islet of *Emanuel Lobos*[1], fortified and maintained in despight of the State, till lately reconciled.

From hence we parted to *Old Goa* on the main Island of *Goa*, which with its various Creeks and Bays makes up the left side or Cod of the Bay, pointing out in the middle of *Nos Segnior de Cabo*, it lying short between *Marmagoun* and the *Agoada*, which makes the Mouth of the Bay to be reckoned from the Head-lands or Out-guards, some Three Leagues over, and *Nos Segnior de Cabo* a Commodious assistance to them both by its well-placed Ordnance, easily reaching them on either hand; but withal befriending *Marmagoun*, from which it is the widest, with huge Stakes of Rocks hid under Water, that Vessels of Burthen must either seek out the Channel or Shipwreck themselves, or else force themselves on the Mouth of their Guns; a Fortunate and well weighed Choice of a Port and Harbour: In our Course we saw the bottom of the Bay meet with the River of St. *Lawrence*, and a Fleet of 30 *Grobs* more ready to receive their Lading; the Bay is two, if not three Leagues deep; the truly Noble *Aldeas* of the *Fidalgos*, the Temples and curiously wrought Crosses of the *Ecclesiasticks*, striving on every open Strand and rising Hill to outshine one another, by their Whited Outsides, and Artificial and Delicate Adornments.

At our Landing the Sea bestowed a kind Murmur on the yielding Sand, and cast us ashore in a Place quadrated more for still Retirement, than noisy Commerce; there lying before its Banks *Canooses* belonging to Fishermen, and *Baloons* of Pleasure only; the *Segnioros* minding nothing less than Merchandizing, and the *Povo*[2] imploying

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[1] Not mentioned by Fonseca among the Goa islands.

[2] Port. *povo*, the common people.

their Fish-hooks, and knitting-needles to get a Livelihood: So that I presume *Old Goa* need not complain for the loss of Trade, which she never had; nor lament the deprivation of Costly and Spacious Buildings, which she never wanted; but hath them rather as a Country Town (of whom she is the Dame) than City, though she might claim the Title of Mistress; her Soil is Luxurious and Campaign, and abounds with Rich Inhabitants, whose Rural Palaces are immured with Groves and *Hortos*[1], refreshed and cooled with *Tanks* and Rivulets; but always reserve a graceful Front for the Street, which are broad and cleanly at this time of Festivity, celebrated with Triumphant Arches and most Pompous Pageants: *Palenkeens* pass as commonly as at *Goa* it self, the People as urbane, though less pestered with Drunken Comrades, as Soldiers, Seamen and Ruffians; the Market-place is stored with Provisions, and the Parish provided with a large Church; but nothing antiquated as I could discover, by which it is easy to judge *Old Goa* never was deserted; but *Now Goa* hath stoln from hence for the sake of Traffick, for that purpose the River is more suitable than this Bay; it may measure from one end to the other, two Miles.

Abreast of it on an hanging Hill is a Sumptuous Structure of the Capuchins called *Sancto Pilar*[2], the Ascent to it is by a winding Staircase cut out of the Rock, and Railed with Stone Banisters; this Order is discalceated also, and consanguineous to the *Franciscans*, differing only in Superiority and Austerity, their Hood is long and

[1] Port. *orta*, *horta*, a garden (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 635). "There is also a great number of *Palmero* or *orta*, like our orchards here, full of *cocos* trees, planted close together; but these grow only in well-watered and low ground" (Pyrard de Laval, ii, 28).

[2] The Holy Pillar, the Convent of the Reformed Franciscans attached to the Chapel of Nossa Senhora de Cabo. They were consolidated in 1628, and the Convents of Madre de Deus, Cabo, and the Pilar were made over to them (Fonseca, 44: Pyrard de Laval, ii, 31, 90: Manucci, iii, 435; iv, 457).

tapering, on their Scapular in fashion of a Sugar-loaf; to both whom are annexed a Lay-Fraternity, which wear the Mantle and Tippet, but not the Vest and Cord, neither are they shaved as the Fathers are: So that all Degrees of them in every Order are comprehended under these Three Classes, *viz. Patres*, Fathers; *Fratres*, Brothers; *Juvenes*, Young men: To these also belong the Sisterhood of *Sancta Clara*.

Thus parted we from the comely *Galatæa*, and bent our Addresses toward the Courts of the stately *Amarillis*, whose Highways were full of Travellers, Country Mansions, Villages, Churches, shady Stands, and Places to ease the Brawny Shoulders of the wearied Slaves: Half Way is a School, where their *Cofferies* (which come most from *Mosambique*, or *Bombass*[1]) are taught to sound on Trumpets and Loud Musick; a Gang of whom forced their Noise on us along the Fields. A Mile wide of the City we entred a Gate that was strong, to which the Wall is contingent, that compasses the better Part of the Island together with the City[2].

From Old *Goa* it is three Miles: Within the Wall a fair Road leads to the City; a little out of the Way is erected an high-wall'd Well, and goes up Steps to a Pair of Gallows, whereon Malefactors are left hanging till they drop into the Well, or the Birds prey on them.

By Night we gained the Out-part of the City, boasting in as large a Ruin of the *Moors*, as their own numerous standing Fabricks; lying so in Obloquy of the hated *Mahometans*, who once made all stoop, where the Christians have now advanced their Sacred Sign: We quartered our selves this Evening in a Tavern kept by a *Chinese*, who are

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[1] See vol. i, 353.

[2] This was perhaps the great gate, which bore an image of St Catharine, patroness of the city (Pyrard de Laval, ii, 47, with a drawing).

White, Platter-fac'd, and Little-eyed, tolerated on account of embracing Christianity[1]; our *Baloon* met us, and coming round by St. *Lawrence* was here before us.

Going the next Morning to the Palace-stairs, we saw their Sessions-house, the bloody Prison of the Inquisition; and in a principal Market-place was raised an Engine a great height, a top like a Gibbet, with a Pulley, with steppings to go upon, as on a Flag staff, for the *Strapado*[2], which unhinges a Man's Joints; a cruel Torture. Over-against these Stairs is an Island, where they burn (after exposing them to the Multitude) all those condemned by the Inquisitor, which are brought from the *Sancto Officio* dress'd up in most horrid Shapes of Imps and Devils, and so delivered to the Executioner. As we rowed by the Powder-Mills, we saw several the Holy Office had branded with the Names of *Fetisceroes*[3], or Charmers, or in *English*, Wizards, released thence to work here; known by a Yellow Cope, Weed, or Garment, like our City poor Pensioners, sleeveless, with an Hole for their Neck only, having a Red Cross before and behind. St. *Iago*, or St. *James*'s Day[4], is the Day for the *Aucto de Fie*, when a general Gaol-Delivery is made of those unhappily intrapp'd

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[1] For early Chinese intercourse with India, see Marco Polo, ii, 336. 'Abdu-r-razzāk (Elliot-Dowson, iv, 103) mentions them at Kalikat in the 15th century. When John Deza destroyed the Zamorin's fleet, it was commanded by a Chinese admiral.

[2] Ital. *strappata*, "pulling, wringing," a form of the rack. It seems to have been applied by hoisting the sufferer by a rope, and letting him fall with a violent jerk. In French *estrapade* was applied to keel-hauling (Pyrard de Laval, ii, 188). "Whereupon we presently determined rather to seeke our liberties, than to bee in danger for ever to be slaves in the country, for it was told we should have ye strapada" (Fitch, in Hakluyt, iii, 287).

[3] Port. *feiticeiro*, a wizard, witch, sorcerer: Lat. *factitius*. It has given rise to those often misunderstood terms, fetish, and fetishism (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*[2], ii, 143).

[4] The Portuguese patron saint, St James, was especially associated with Goa, because of the successful assault on 25th November, 1510, when his effigy was carried in the van of the besiegers (Dalboquerque, iii, 10).

in the Inquisition[1]; at which time there is a great Cavalcade to the Cathedral, and every *Fidalgo* appearing there, is honoured with being a Patron to some of these poor Wretches; St. *James* being the Tutelar Saint of this City.

On whom *Sevi Gi* minds them to invocate, having but just now wrested *Pundit*[2], the chief Strength of *Visiapour* from that King; on the surrender of which followed the Conquest of the Low Country beyond *Carwar:* And by this means the Diamond-Trade is intercepted, this being the greatest Mart for small Diamonds[3], before these Incursions: And not only so, but they are straitned for Butchers Meat, which used to come down plentifully that way; for these had rather kill a Man, than suffer a Beast to be led to the Stall; and not only for Meat but Firing, they being beholden to that Country for Fuel, as well as Timber for Building. These Calamities, besides the Approach of *Seva Gi*'s Army, make no small Distractions, especially having small Recruits of *Europe*-Men; so that the *Padres* must not only Pray but Fight, there being in the Convents more than in the Garisons.

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[1] The Inquisition was established in India by the Dominicans in 1560, and had its headquarters in the Casa da Santa Inquisitione, near the Cathedral, which was occupied by the Viceroy down to 1554, and became the chief object of attraction to all travellers (Fonseca, 210: Pyrard de Laval, ii, 52). Accounts of the atrocities, possibly in some degree exaggerated, reached Europe on the publication of *Relation de l'Inquisition de Goa* by the Physician Dellon (Leyden, 1687, Paris and London, 1688). For early accounts see Pyrard de Laval, ii, 52, 92 ff.: Linschoten, i, 182: Tavernier, ed. Ball, i, 201 f. For a good modern account, see Fonseca, 210 ff.

[2] See note, vol. ii, 2. After Fryer's time, in 1683, the Viceroy made an ineffectual attack on Phonda (Danvers, ii, 369).

[3] "Goa was formerly the place where there was the largest trade in all Asia in diamonds, rubies, sapphires, topazes, and other stones" (Tavernier, ed. Ball, ii, 121).

G O A

Is the Metropolis of the *Portugals* in the *East-Indies*, and the Residence of a Viceroy, who gives Laws to all Seculars, though he cannot execute them on the *Fidalgoes* in Capital Crimes, the King reserving the Definitive Sentence in such Cases to himself; they are therefore sent home to be tried in *Europe*, by the established Courts of their Kingdom. The Archbishop is Supreme in Spirituals, or ought to be so. The City is a *Rome* in *India*, both for Absoluteness and Fabricks, the chiefest consisting of Churches, and Convents, or Religious Houses; though the Laity have sumptuous ones all of Stone; their Streets are paved, and cleaner than the tops of their Houses, where they do all occasions, leaving their Excrements there. They live with a splendid Outside, vaunting in their number of Slaves, walking under a Street of their own Umbrelloes, bare-headed, to avoid giving Distaste in not removing their Hats: They being jealous of their Honour, pardon no Affront; wherefore to ogle a Lady in a Balcony (if a Person of Quality) it is revenged with a *Bocca Mortis*[1], or to pass by a *Fidalgo* without due Reverence, is severely chastised; they are carried mostly in *Palenkeens*, and sometimes on Horseback.

The Clergy affect little of outward State, going out only *Frater cum Socio*, in Couples; they salute a Father by first kissing the Hem of his Garment, then begging a Benediction.

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[1] Port. *bacamarte*, "a blunderbuss." Mr Irvine (Manucci, iv, 445) quotes a definition of a *bacamarte* from L. Cordeiro (*Como se perdeu Ormuz*, 74) "Firearms in use throughout India; they have a barrel three spans in length and a flint-lock. They throw a ball of two or three ounces, and at the end of a street against a crowd they are as effective as a swivel-gun."

The Mass of the People are *Canorein*[1], though *Portuguezed* in Speech and Manners; paying great Observance to a White Man, whom when they meet they must give him the Way with a Cringe and Civil Salute, for fear of a *Stochado*[2].

The Women, both White and Black, are kept recluse, vailed abroad; within doors, the Richer of any Quality are hung with Jewels, and Rosaries of Gold and Silver many times double[3]; *Moneloes*[4] of Gold about their Arms, Necklaces of Pearl about their Necks, Lockets of Diamonds in their Bodkins for their Hair, Pendants in their Ears; a thin *Lungy*, or Half-smock reaching to their Waste, shewing their Skin through it; over that, abroad, a close Doublet; over their Lower Parts a Pitticoat or *Lungy*[5], their Feet and Legs without Stockins, but very Rich Slippers. Amongst them some are extraordinarily featur'd and compleatly shap'd, though not of that coruscant Beauty our *English* Ladies are; and for Mien far beneath them,

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[1] People of Kanara, a name applied by the Portuguese to the Konkani people of Goa and their language. The term has now a somewhat offensive signification, and is applied exclusively to Native Christians (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 154: Pyrard de Laval, ii, 35 *n.*).

[2] Port. *estocada*, Ital. *stocada*, "a thrust with a rapier."

[3] "The rich ladies of quality go but seldom to Church, save on the great feast-days, and then superbly attired in the Portuguese mode. Their gowns for the most part are of gold, silk, and silver brocade, enriched with pearls, gems, and jewels at the head, arms, hands, and waist. Over all they wear a veil of the finest crape in the world, reaching from the head to the feet. The gown and veil of girls are of all varieties of colour: those of the married women black. They never wear stockings. Their gowns and petticoats trail upon the ground: their pattens, or *chapins*, are open above, and cover only the soles of the feet; but they are all broidered with gold and silver, hammered in thin plates which reach over the lower surface of the *chapin*, the upper part being covered with pearls and gems, and the soles half a foot thick with cork" (Pyrard de Laval, ii, 102). For the ostentatious extravagance of the Portuguese at Goa, see Fonseca, 161 ff.

[4] Port. *manilha*, a bracelet. "A Manilla is a solid piece of Gold, of two or three ounces weight, worn in a Ring round the wrist" (Lockyer, 276).

[5] See vol. i, 137.

being nurtured up in a lowly Bashfulness, whereby they are render'd unfit for Conversation, applying themselves wholly to Devotion and the Care of the House: They sing, and play on the Lute, make Confections, pickle *Achars*[1], (the best *Mongo Achars* coming from them), and dress Meat exquisitely, not to put the Stomach to much trouble, but such as shall digest presently; Supoes[2], Pottages, and varieties of Stews, in little *China* Dishes or Plates, which they shift before you are cloy'd, and at a common Entertainment alter half a dozen Modes: Their Relishing Bits have not the Fieriness of ours, yet all the pleasure you can desire; and to speak truly, I prefer their ordinary way of ordering Victuals before any others. If a Stranger dine with the Husband, and he consent to have the Wife come in and sit at Table as our Women do, there is no means of persuading her, but she will be much offended if you taste not of every thing they cook. The little Children run up and down the House naked, till they begin to be old enough to be ashamed.

The finest Manchet[3] it may be in the World is made here, and the purest Virgins Wax for Tapers[4]. At *Nerule*[5] is made the best *Arach* or *Nepa de Goa*[6], with which the *English* on this Coast make that enervating Liquor called *Paunch* (which is *Indostan* for Five) from Five Ingredients; as the Physicians name their Composition *Diapente*; or from Four things, *Diatesseron*[7].

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[1] See vol. i, 297.

[2] Port. *sopa*, Fr. *soupe*, Eng. *sop*.

[3] Wheaten bread: now obsolete or used only in provincial districts. It was often used for a small loaf, like our dinner rolls (*Notes and Queries*, 6 Ser. iv, 418).

[4] Bee farming for the collection of honey and wax, most of which is sent to Goa and made into candles for the Church altars, is still an industry in Kanara (*Bombay Gaz.* xv, Pt I, 104 ff.).

[5] Nerul in Bardez division, near the Agoada and Reis Magos forts.

[6] Arrack from the palm-tree: Malay *nīpah*, the stemless palm (*Nipa fruticans*) (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 626).

[7] Yule (*Ibid.* 737 ff.) accepts Fryer's derivation of Punch. This view

The way they give Notice from the Outguards of what Ships are seen off at Sea, is after they have spread the King's Standard, to elevate so many Baskets on Poles; which Sign the next appointed Watch receives, and so successively till it arrive at the City[1].

On New-Year's Day, *Stilo Veteri*, with Captain *Gary* in his *Baloon* of Ten Rowers, and Six Servants, we set sail for *Carwar*, and had brought half *Salset*[2] behind us, when the Moon being two Hours high we discovered a Light, and immediately Three Sail making after us, and by the Shore another small Sail intercepting us: Our Men that before would not handle an Oar, fell to it tightly, and two more pursuing us out at Sea, we ran fairly into *Cola*[3] on *Salset*, a Fishing Town, where lay several Boats to carry off Mountains of Fish salted on the Beach, the Scent whereof was very noysom under a miserable Shed we took for our Lodging: The next Morning we came early to the River *Sal*[4], where we found Eight Boats scared in for Protection against the *Malabars*; where we had this Advice, That Five were roving in sight, and had vowed Revenge for the Injury we did them at *Vingula*[5], killing their Captain and three or four of their Chief Men, besides as many more Soldiers, all which they buried at *Anjediva*: We staid here therefore this Night, and lay in the open Air by the River's side, being sufficiently soaked by the Dew.

Captain *Gary* therefore the next Morn, not willing to hazard himself on a Voyage undertaken only for Pleasure,

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has since been disputed, but without much success. See *Notes and Queries*, 8 Ser. vols. iii, vi, viii; 9 Ser. vols. i, ii.

[1] Mr R. A. Becher, H.B.M. Consul at Goa, informs me that, as far as he can ascertain, nothing is now known of this custom of signalling, and that it certainly does not prevail in the present day.

[2] Salsette, one of the Velhas Conquistas or Old Conquests; the southern province of the Goa territory.

[3] Colla, S.E. of Mormugão.

[4] The Sāl river, near the town of Margão.

[5] Vengurla in Ratnagirī District.

procured a Pilot Boat to go before us, and make Signs by a White Flag, if the Coasts were clear at every Point; and so we got safe to *Carwar* River's Mouth, when the Chief having notice of our coming, came on Horseback to welcome us, and accompanied us in the *Baloon* to the House.

This Captain *Gary*[1] is he that was the last Governor for the King on the Island *Bombaim:* He is a Person of a Mercurial Brain, a better Merchant than Soldier, is skill'd in most of the Languages of the Country, and is now writing a Piece in *Arabick*, which he dedicates to the Viceroy, with whom he is in great Esteem. He lived at *Achein*, and was created a Noble by that Queen; was born a *Venetian*, but of *English* Parents, by which means he understands *Italian*, *Portugueze*, and *Latin*, perfectly, and is an accomplished Courtier.

CHAP. III.

A Pilgrimage to Gocurn, *where was a great* Gentile *Solemnity. A cursory Discourse of the Bordering Princes.*

As much to the *Southward* as *Goa* is to the *North*, lies *Gocurn*[2], whither I took a Pilgrimage, with one other of the

[1] Henry Gary came to India in the ship *John* in 1645. He was on the Surat establishment, and afterwards Deputy-Governor of Bombay, where he also served as Judge, and, under Keigwin's instructions, treated unsuccessfully with the Mahrattas (Hedges, ii, 174, 323 f.: Anderson, 116, 118 f.). His name appears several times in the Bombay records, quarrelling with Widrington, appealing for pay, and he seems to have been sent on a mission to Achin (Forrest, *Home Papers*, i, 17, 41, 136, 222). The Portuguese Viceroy, writing to the King on 5th January, 1666, says: "Although the name of Humphrey Cooke appears in all these matters, an awful heretic, named Henrique Guery, a great enemy of the Portuguese nation, is the author of all these things" (Danvers, ii, 356 f.). A. Hamilton (*New Account*, i, 192) is wrong in describing him as "an old Greek...who condemned a man to be hanged on a Tuesday, and the man suffered according to sentence: but, on Friday after, the poor dead fellow was ordered to be called before the Court, but he would not comply with the order."

[2] Gokarn, "cow's ear," from a legend that Siva here rose through

Factors, Four *Peons*, and Two *Biggereens*[1], or Porters only; we set out all on Foot the Second of *February*, at the beginning of the Heats, at Ten in the Morning, and with wonderful toil clambered up *Anchola*[2] Hill, a woody Mountain of an extraordinary height; where resting a little while we made for the bottom; at which lies an Horse of an *Havaldar*'s Interred under an huge square Stone, and his Effigies Dormant upon it Escuthceon, or Diamond-wise[3]; not much farther, the Wood being on Fire, we were in danger not only of being Smothered but Roasted (this place not long since the receptacle of *Delvi* and his Crew, and therefore I suppose purposely Burnt):

Et neque jam cineres ejectatamque favillam
Ferre potest, calidoque involvitur undique fumo[4].

But having conquered by our better Angels this lively portraicture of Hell, we were led into an happy Elysium, or Plain, that was bounded by the immense Ocean; and had we been Shades, to have been satisfied with an Aierial Diet, we might have fared well, for nothing else could we purchase, the poor Inhabitants being Fishermen, were left by the iniquity of *Delvi*, without either Fish, Boats, Nets, or Rice; and upon that account unlikely to supply us. Night approaching we knew not where to better our selves than under a Mango-Tree; where our wearied Spirits afforded us not much time for Contemplation, nor our eager Stomachs much Sleep; wherefore by break of Day

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the ear of a cow: a famous place of pilgrimage in N. Kanara District: Lat. 14° 32′ N.: Long. 74° 19′ E.: about 25 miles S.E. of Kārwār.

[1] Hind. *begārī*, a man pressed to carry loads, etc. (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 80).

[2] Ankola in N. Kanara District: about 15 miles S.E. of Kārwār.

[3] He probably refers to one of the *pāliyā* or "guardian stones," common in W. India, and erected to commemorate a dead warrior or a victim of a raid for cattle. The hero is often represented riding armed with a spear in the foray in which he met his death (*Bombay Gaz.* ix, Pt I, 363 f.; xiv, 308 f.).

[4] Ovid, *Metam.* ii, 231 f.

we made for *Anchola*, where we found the *Buzzar* half Burnt, and the remaining Shops without Tenants, a bad Cordial to an empty Maw: We sent our Pass to the Governor, and procuring from him another, we hastened to seek our own Provisions.

Seva Gi spared not this Town when he took the Castle, so that it is almost down or deserted; the Soldiers by that means disfurnishing themselves of all Necessaries, but what they seize by Violence abroad; the Castle is a fine place and of good force, bearing Fifty Brass Guns, the *Moors* had got out of a *Portugueze* Shipwreck; it commands as far as the River *Gongole*[1], the utmost extent of *Seva Gi*'s Dominions, *South*; Two or Three Mile out of the Town we met with some Game, and made Prey of it, walking by the Strength of it to *Gongole* River.

Where we Ferried over and took up our residence this Night at *Gongola*, the first Town in the Country, which still retains the Name of *Canatick*[2], and therefore is properly so called; though we shall shew by and by all this Tract of Land we have passed from *Guzzerat* deserves the same appellation, being originally so.

The People looked Chearful, and live in Peace under a quiet Government.

——— *Sine militis usu*
Mollia securæ peragebant otia gentes[3].

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[1] Gangāvlī or Bedtī river, which rises in Dhārwār District, and falls into the sea near Gokarn. The town of Gangāvlī is a small port 5 miles N. of Ankola (*Bombay Gaz.* xv, Pt II, 281).

[2] Skt. *karnātaka*; Tamil. *kar*, "black," *nādu*, "country." The various uses of the word, and of Kanara, are discussed by Yule (*Hobson-Jobson*, 164, 152). Throughout early Hindu literature Mysore is called Karnāta or Karnātaka. "But the Muhammadans included in the name their conquests below the Ghāts as well: and the English, going a step further, erroneously restricted it to the low country. Hence Carnatic and Canara now designate, in European works of geography, regions which never bore these names: while Mysore, the proper Karnātaka or Carnatic, is not so called" (Rice, *Mysore*[2], i, 1 *n.*).

[3] Ovid, *Metam.* i, 99.

By the break of the next Dawn we got to *Gocurn*, and exchanged our *English* for *Moors* Cloaths, yet not so privately but that we were discovered by some that told our *Banyan* (who was come to perform a Vow to the Manes of his dead Father,) that Two *Englishmen* were come to the *Tomasia*[1], or Sight; whereupon he came to us before we expected, with a Band of Thirty or Forty Men; but we desired to be concealed and pass for *Moguls*, that we might see without being taken notice of; he was conformable thereto, and we went into the Town, which was in a Valley near the Sea; formerly very splendid, now of more esteem for the Relicks of their Pagods than any thing else.

It is an University of the *Brachmins* and well Endowed; here are innumerable, but ruinated Pagods[2]; Two only of any Mark, and they half standing; they were Large and of good Workmanship in Stone, after their Antick and Hieroglyphical Sculpture; they had, as all have, a dark Entry at the farther end, wherein are continually lighted Lamps burning before the *Duel*[3], or Image, seated there to represent a Glory, or Phosphorus, whither they resort to Worship and Offer Oil, Rice, and Frankincense, at it's Feet, on an Offertory; some make a great pother of Anointing and Washing it, being lavish both of their Pains and Cost.

At this time the *Brachmins* Reap a great Harvest, for this Place is of such repute for its Sanctity and Meritoriousness of a Pilgrimage hither, that all sorts of Idolaters, from the remotest parts of *India*, come in sholes, πλειστόμβροτος[4], *celebritas ad quam plurimi mortales conveniunt*

[1] Hind. *tamāsha*, "a spectacle" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 941).

[2] Besides the great Mahābaleshwar temple, there are now some twenty minor shrines.

[3] Hind. *dewal*, "an idol temple."

[4] πλειστόμβροτος, "crowded with many people," ἑορτή Pindar, *Ol.* 6. 116 (Liddell and Scott, *Lex. s.v.*).

πλειστοὶ βρότοι συνέρχονται, and we found so many, that the Streets were troublesome to crowd through; with much ado we got into the *Buzzar*, or Fair, only so upon this occasion, long Rows of Sheds being put up on both sides the high Streets, where the Two great Pagods stood, one at each end.

We were carried by the Tide of the People that bore that way out of this place, to a large oblong stone Tank[1]; with Descents to go down all about it; in the middle a neat Pagod supported on Four Marble Pillars; here during this Festival at Evenings, are blazing a Lecque[2] of Lamps.

In this all of both Sexes Wash (this Solemnity being called the *Jatry*[3], or Washing) and Present Rice and Mony to the *Brachmins*; and the Fish which Swim here frequently receive their Benevolence, being so Tame you may catch them with your Hands; to be the death of one of these is held *Piaculare*[4].

Those whose Parents or Friends are deceased, the Hair of the Head is an Offering to their departed Ghost on this manner[5]; After the Barber in this Water has shaved the

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[1] Probably the Kotī pool, in the centre of which is a Lingam called Saptakotīsvara, "lord of seven millions of pools," with a fine granite bull beside it (*Bombay Gaz.* xv, Pt II, 292).

[2] Hind. *lākh*, 100,000: see vol. i, 261.

[3] Hind. *jātrā*, "a pilgrimage, festival, fair."

[4] Sacred fish are found at many Hindu sacred places (Crooke, *Pop. Rel.*[2] ii, 253: *Things Indian*, 221 ff.). "I was shown a letter written by the King [of Travancore] to the commander of the English troops there [Angenga], in which he requested that he would cause every mark of respect at *Angenga* to the memory of his deceased mother. In consequence of this request, all the shops were kept shut for three days; and no one during that time durst fish in the sea, because the Indians believe in the transmigration of souls, and are therefore afraid that the soul of a deceased person may be prevented from going into some fish or other" (Paolino, 144, 242). Fryer (Letter V, Chap. v) mentions sacred fish at Kumisheh in Persia.

[5] People come from long distances to perform the funeral rites of their ancestors in the Tāmraparni river at Gokarn (*Bombay Gaz.* xv, Pt II, 295). Shaving, as a rite of mourning, is intended either as a disguise to baffle the ghost, or as a means of getting rid of the ghost

Head and Beard, it is delivered wrapped up to the *Brachmin*; who brings a Cow and a Calf into the Water, and binding them with Frontlets ceremoniously, they bestow on them, as they are disposed, either for Ornament or Maintainance ever after; imagining their Souls to have their residence in them[1]: From whence they are conducted to the *Pagod*[2], which they enter bare-footed, and offer to the *Duel*; returning, they smite on a Bell hung in the Body of the Church; and going to the Porch, receive their Slippers, washing afterwards at more liberty for the rest of the Festival.

It was a Primitive Custom among the *Jews* to shave when they had made a Vow, *Act. Apost. Chap.* 18. *v.* 18[3].

Coasting along the Sea-side, we came to the *Pomærium* of the greatest *Pagod*, where near the Gate in a *Choultry* sate more than Forty naked *Jougies*[4], or Men united to God, covered with Ashes, and pleited Turbats of their own Hair; two above the rest remarkable, one sitting with his Head hanging over his Shoulders, his Eyes shut, moving neither Hands or Feet, but always set across, his Nails overgrown like Talons: The other as a check to Incontinency, had a Gold Ring fastened into his Viril Member[5].

And now we returned into the Market-place, having obtained leave to seat our selves by the Chief Captain to

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or of the taboo which clings to the hair of the survivors (J. G. Frazer, *Journal, Anthropological Institute*, xv, 99).

[1] The calf is given to the Brāhman either with the idea that he will pass it on for the use of the dead, or as an abode for the spirit. Such calves become the "Brahminy bulls" often seen at Hindu sacred places.

[2] Perhaps the Mahābaleshwar temple.

[3] On the Semitic rites of shaving, see W. R. Smith, *Religion of the Semites*[2], 323 ff.

[4] Jogī, see vol. i, 138. Fryer correctly explains the word—Skt. *yoga*, "mental concentration to procure union with the Deity."

[5] This is a practice of the class of Saiva ascetics, known as Karalingī (Wilson, *Essays on the Religion of Hindus*, i, 236: cf. Dubois, 527). Grose (87, 312) describes Fakīrs using such a ring.

see their Duels pass by in Pomp, being to do their Devoirs to a Mother *Pagod:* At the upper-end of the High-street were two great moving Pageants drawn on Wheels, two Stories high, with a Cupulo on the top, which was stuck round full of Streamers of Oriental Colours; the inferior Stories were painted with deformed Figures of their Saints, on every side Portals[1]: In the lowest was placed the *Duel*, attended by their Chief Priests with a dark Blue Cope over their Shoulder, their under Garments White, and *Puckeries*[2] on their Heads, a *Mussal*[3] within, and an *Oftagary*[4] (a Skreen of Silver and Velvet with Sarcenet Borders) to keep off the Sun.

Thus the Chief *Naik* with his Loud Musick of Horns, Trumpets and Drums waited on it, and the *Brachmins* with softer, of the Dancing Wenches singing, with Bells at their Wrists and Heels, and their *Tamboles*[5] or Tabrets: An Ensign of Red, Swallow-tailed, several *Chitories*[6]; little, but Rich *Kitsolls*[7] (which are the Names of several Count[r]ies for Umbrelloes); 500 Men, with Javelins of Brass and Steel, with Bells and Feathers, as many more with Guns under his Command; and the *Naik* Wherry with

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[1] Such idol processions, more common in S. than in N. India, have been described by many early travellers (Barbosa, 122: P. della Valle, ii, 238 ff., 259 f.: Linschoten, i, 295: Tavernier, ed. Ball, i, 296). Almost all Kanara temples have their yearly "car-days," when the images of the gods are mounted on great wooden cars (*rath*) and dragged in procession. For a full account of the rite, see *Bombay Gaz.* xv, Pt I, 122 f.

[2] Hind. *pagrī*, "a turban" (vol. i, 233).

[3] Ar. *mash'al*, "a torch."

[4] Pers. *āftābgīr*, "sun-catching." Another "carries at the end of a stick a kind of basket-work shield, covered with some kind of beautiful stuff, in order promptly to shelter the occupant of the *pallankeen* from the heat of the sun, when it turns and strikes him [the image] on the face" (Tavernier, ed. Ball, i, 45: cf. Ovington, 315).

[5] Ar. *tambūr*, "a cymbal": Port. *atabal.* Manucci (iii, 149) uses the form *tabales*, with which his editor compares Hind. *tabl*, Port. *tambor*, "a drum."

[6] Hind. *chhatr*, "an umbrella" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 185).

[7] See vol. i, 276.

like fashioned Ensign of Green, bordered with a Checker of White and Green, followed by 200 in the same order as before; after these followed a Medly of Pots and Pans of Copper or Brass, Men clattering on them, and dancing a good measure: When the Train drew near, it was drawn by a Team of Holy Men, the People rising and clapping their Hands as it passed to the opposite *Pagod*; a Troop of the Gentry in *Cavalcade* rode after it, where having paid a Visit, it returned with the like Solemn Procession, and by discharging of Guns the Ceremony ended: There were several other *Duels* fanned by Women, offering Censers of rich Perfumes with huge Lights; before which People possessed with Familiars ran Cudgelling themselves; others in a different sort of Mummery belaboured themselves, till they could not stand, all striving to outdo others; thus blind and heated were they in their Zeal.

To describe every particular *Duel* or *Pagod*, both for the number, and difficulty of the Shapes, would be impossible; take therefore only one that had escaped the Fire, and therefore highly venerable; 'twas cut out of Excellent Black Marble, the height of a Man, the Body of an Ancient *Greek* Hero, it had four Heads, and as many Hands, had not two been cut off; it was seated on an Offertory in a broken *Pagod*[1]; a Piece of Admirable Work and Antiquity, exceeding, say they, *Bonares*[2], the other Noted University of the Heathens.

Who founded these, their Annals nor their *Sanscript*[3] deliver not. But certainly Time, and the Entry of the *Moors*, ruined them. This, though a Principal University, can boast of no *Bodlean* or *Vatican*; their Libraries being

[1] To the S. of the Mahābaleshwar temple is a well-carved figure of Brahmā, about six feet high, with four faces, representing the god as Chaturānana or Chaturmukha, "four-faced," and standing on a polished slab of black granite under a small dome (*Bombay Gaz.* xv, Pt II, 296).

[2] Benares.

[3] Sanskrit (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 792).

Old Manuscripts of their own *Cabalas*, or Mysteries understood only by the *Brachmins*.

They live not under a Collegiate Confinement, but in pretty Neat Houses plastered with Cow-dung, which is done afresh as oft as they sweep them, where they abide with their Families, Celibacy being no Injunction to their Divines; excepting one House of the *Sinai*[1] *Cast*, where is a Reverend Old Man, Head of their Tribe, who professes a Life without the Company of a Woman, and has the Attendance of a great many Young *Ashmen*[2], and Grave *Brachmins:* These live a reserved Life, and spend it wholly in Praying and Abstinence; as the others count their Prayers by Beads[3], these do it by *Cowreys*, Fish-shells: They wore Red Caps[4], such as those are brought from *Tunis*; and our Seamen wear daily aboard Ship: But the Stricter, and more Undefiled *Cast*, is the *Butt*[5], the reason whereof you will find in the General Account of *India*.

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[1] See vol. i, 199.

[2] A translation of the Pers. *khākī* (*khāk*, "ashes, dust") applied to ascetics who smear their bodies with such substances. "They are called *Faquirs* by the natives, but *Ashmen* commonly by us, because of the Abundance of Ashes with which they powder their Heads, and mix with their Hair" (Ovington, 362).

[3] The Saiva rosary is usually made of Rudrāksha (*Elaeocarpus ganitrus*) berries. The use of cowries for this purpose is certainly unusual. Rosaries made of conch shell are not uncommon (*North Indian Notes and Queries*, iii, 731). For a good account of cowries, see Pyrard de Laval, i, 236 ff. They are often worn in necklaces as a charm against the Evil Eye.

[4] In Mysore Brāhmans go bare-headed. Other castes often wear a bright magenta-coloured worsted cap, "such as a brewer's drayman wears, but not in the same jaunty manner, for it is pulled well down over the ears and back of the neck" (Rice, *Mysore*[2], i, 264).

[5] Bhatta (probably connected with Skt. *bhartri*, "a supporter") is figuratively applied to mendicant and learned Brāhmans, particularly among the Mahrattas. In another form, Bhāt, it is applied to bards or panegyrists (Wilson, *Indian Caste*, ii, 179). "The most esteem'd and most sublime among the Brachmans, and consequently the most rigorous of all in point of eating and other observances, are those who perform the Office of Priests, whom they call *Boti*" (P. della Valle, i, 80). "There are a set of Brahmans in this country called Buts, they study astrology, and are in great repute for their exemplary

All *Brachmins* are distinguished by a Cotton-thred athwart their Body from their Left Shoulder, hanging down under their Right Arm; which Badge, if they violate it, costs them vast Sums of Money to redeem, besides the undergoing of strict Pennances[1].

They fetch Water for the *Duels* from the *Tank* with loud Musick and Dancing Wenches three or four times a-day (the *Brachmins* waiting in course) and those dancing Wenches and Boys set a-part for that Service, dare not dance afore any else: These Dancers are taken out of the *Cast* of the *Dowlys*[2], who are obliged to devote the Eldest of the Males and Females to that use; having for that reason large Dispensations concerning their Marriage, or the Liberty of getting Children, being common to all: To conclude with these, Whether Religion made these People Morose, or it be to be attributed to the Virtue of their Manners; you see in them a carelesness of behaviour towards Strangers, neither regarding the Novelty, nor Gawdiness of their Garb; being here, as it is said, *Romæ, Lutetiæ ac Venetiæ,*

——— *Nemo quicquid miratur*[3].

From hence we trooped to *Tudera*[4], at the Mouth of *Mirja* River, over a Rocky barren Hill, where the Company's Barge or *Baloon* met us; and went up in it to *Mirja*[5],

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innocent lives, and skill in prophesying" (A. Hamilton, *New Account*, i, 276).

[1] The *Janeo* (Skt. *yajñopavīta*) with which the youth of the "twice-born" castes is invested at the Upanayana rite (Crooke, *Things Indian*, 471 ff.).

[2] Mahr. *devalī*, "son of a woman devoted to an idol. This male offspring constitutes a caste or tribe" (Molesworth, *Mahr. Dict. s.v.*). The more usual name of such women is Devadāsī (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 307: *Bombay Gaz.* xv, Pt I, 325).

[3] Remove the dash and perhaps read *quicquam* for *quicquid.*

[4] Tadrī, a small port at the mouth of the river of that name, about 3 miles S. of Gokarn.

[5] See vol. i, 150.

where our brisk Young *Banyan* treated us with the Dancing Wenches; his Father dying soon, left him young, and he out of Government, lavishes into Excesses not approved of by that stingy Tribe.

At *Mirja* stands a Castle, which though old is a very fine one, being double Wall'd and Trench'd, with high Turrets on the Bastions: It was surrendred by the Treachery of a *Moor* Governor, and is now under the subjection of the *Canatick Ranna*[1]; it has a wide Moat about it, but few Guns: The Town has a *Buzzar*, at the end of it a *Cœmitery* for the *Moors*, with an ample Aquaduct of good Stone.

Being tired, and lying to repose out of the Noise of the Dancers, on the Bank of the River, under a shady Tree, I was made at by an unsizable Snake, which I hardly escaped, had it not hissed with an unheard-of Noise before [by] me, which rouzing me, made me shift its speedy Course, as it angrily gathered up its Body, and darted its self into the Flags on the River-side: These Creatures are dreadful to the Inhabitants, and when I related my Hazard, they wondred I came off so, there being of them big enough to master the largest Animals: After my Danger was over, I was told she had a Nest in that Place, it being lately turned into a Burial-place. *Hic, obitèr, notandum quod scribit Plinius, lib.* 10. *Hist. Nat. cap.* 66. *scilicet, Ex cerebro putrescente humano angues gigni. Hujus rei exemplum habet Plutarchus in vitâ Cleominis, quem scribit à Ptolomæo in crucem actum fuisse, ejusque Caput paucis post diebus ingentem Draconem Complicasse. Et Rolfinus simile quid narrat*

[1] The fort of Mirjān lies about one-third mile from the river. "It is built on the north-west edge of a ridge of laterite, in which its deep moat is cut, which raises it a little over the river bank. It has well-built walls, with battlements facing the sea, but the whole is so overgrown with vegetation and brushwood, that it is difficult to make out the internal arrangements" (*Bombay Gaz.* xv, Pt II, 331). The "Canatick Ranna" was Shivappa, Nāyakka of Bednūr or Ikkerī (1649–1671).

declarante Diemerbrook, Anat. lib. 3. *cap.* 5. Here by the by, might be noted what *Pliny* writes, to wit, That Snakes are generated out of Human Brains putrifying, *&c.*[1]

Returning we overtook the *Portugal* Armado from the *South*, with Two hundred Paddy-Boats with their Convoys, and touched at *Angediva*, from whence we came to *Carwar*.

Before I left *Mirja* I received this Information from the Natives, That the *Canatick* Country reaches from *Gongola*[2] to the *Zamerhin*'s[3] Country of the *Malabars*, along the Sea, and Inland up to the Pepper-Mountains of *Sunda*[4], and the Precinct of *Sergi Caun*[5]. *Bednure*[6], four Days Journy hence, is the Capital City, the Residence of the *Ranna*, the Relict of *Sham Shanker Naig*, (murdered by his Nobles) *Raja* of *Canora*; who now Rules in her Son's Minority, *Bassepæ Naig*, the young *Raja*, by and

[1] "*Unguem ex medulla hominis spinae gigni accepimus a multis*" (Pliny, *Hist. Nat.* x, 66 (88)). Ovid (*Metam.* xv, 389) makes the same statement. Plutarch (*Vit. Cleomenes, ad fin.*) tells how after Cleomenes was crucified, "the guards saw a great serpent coiled round the head and covering all the face, so that no bird of prey durst alight....The citizens of Alexandria resorted to the spot, saluting Cleomenes as a 'hero' and the son of a god, until the wiser sort stopped them, by explaining that as putrified oxen breed bees, and horses wasps, and from asses in the same condition beetles are born alive, so human bodies when the Juices about the marrow have contracted and shrunk, produce serpents."

[2] See vol. ii, 32.

[3] The Zamorin of Calicut (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 977).

[4] Sonda, a small town in N. Kanara District, which from 1590 to 1762 was the capital of a dynasty of Hindu chiefs (*Bombay Gaz.* xv, Pt II, 347 ff.).

[5] The "Sargecan, a Pathān by race and captain-general of the Bījāpur King" of Manucci (ii, 141) was Sharzah Khān, who afterwards received from Aurangzeb the title of Rustam Khān (Elliot-Dowson, vii, 347).

[6] Bednūr, now Nagar in Mysore: Lat. 13° 50′ N.: Long. 75° 6′ E.: properly Bidaruhalli, "bamboo village." About 1640 it became the capital of the Keladi chiefs, who transferred the seat of Government to this place from Ikkeri. Haidar 'Alī named it Haidarnagar (Rice, *Mysore*[2], ii, 432 ff.).

with the Authority of one *Timi Naig*, that from a *Toddyman* has by his cunning Policy, more than by true Prowess and Valour, raised himself to be General and Protector. *Sergi Caun*, a Prince of the Kingdom of *Visiapour*, and he, have lately entred into an amicable League and firm Confederacy, who have already Eat together, whereupon it is bruited *Timi Naig* is about to embrace the *Mahometan* Faith[1].

The Prime Nobility have the Title of *Naiks* or *Naigs*[2], as those of *Malabar*, *Nairoes*.

The Language is *Canorein*[3], which to me seems to be the Primitive, from the *Malabars* up to *Surat*; the Country short of it, as well as Speech, being *Canorein*, and those between varying only in Dialect, and the Names of the Country altered, as the Chance of War prevailed.

Here are Wild Elephants, some Pepper, and store of Beetle-Nut, and Wild Nutmeg[4], used to dye withal. The best Pepper in the World is of the Growth of *Sunda*,

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[1] The history of the family is given by Mr Sewell (*Lists of Inscriptions*, 177 f.). He informs me that the dates of the persons concerned here must be somewhat modified from Mr Lewis Rice's investigations. Those named by Fryer represent Somasekhara Nāyaka I (1663–1671): Chennamājī, his widow (1671–1697): Basappa Nāyaka I (adopted son of Somasekhara) 1697–1714 (see Rice, *Mysore*[2], ii, 434 f.). Major T. W. Haig writes: "It is clear that Timi Nāik was very intimate with Sharzah Khān, and the latter is very likely to have enlisted his aid in the internal disorders in Bījāpur in the reign of Sikandar 'Ādil Shāh, when Buhlūl Khān and his Afghāns were opposed to all other parties in the State, and for a time held all power in Bījāpur. It is unfortunate that Timi Nāik's name is not mentioned in the brief account of the fight given in the *Basātiu-us-Salātīn*." Major Haig suggests that Timi Nāik fell in the battle at Bījāpur on 1st April 1676 between the followers of Sharzah Khān and Bahlol Khān. For other information on the history of this dynasty see F. Buchanan, *Journey through Mysore*, iii, 125, 254: B. L. Rice, *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, 156 f.

[2] Skt. *nāyaka*, "a leader" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 614).

[3] Kanarese.

[4] This tree has not been traced. No variety of the order *Myristica* seems to furnish a dye, and it is not mentioned in any list, to which I have access, of S. Indian dye plants (Watt, *Econ. Dict.* v, 311 ff.: *Travancore State Manual*, i, 91 f.).

known in *England* by *Carwar* Pepper, though five Days Journy distant from thence[1]. This *Raja* vends his Pepper, as it is the best, at the best rates, finding a Trade up the Country, and therefore is it we have little of it in *Europe*; he contents himself to live at *Sunda*, from whence he and his Country receive denomination, being as little Absolute as the rest of the Princes of *Visiapour*, being Tributary, or rather Feudatory, obliged as well by Allegiance as Purse.

The *Raja* of *Saranpatan* must not be slipped by in silence, because his way of fighting differs from his Neighbours; he trains up his Soldiers to be expert at a certain Instrument to seize on the Noses of his Enemies with that slight either in the Field or in their Camps, that a Budget-full of them have been presented to their Lord for a Breakfast; a thing, because it deforms them, so abashing, that few care to engage with him; and this he makes use of, because it is against his Religion to kill any thing[2]. He enjoys a vast Territory on the back of the *Zamerhin*.

Beyond him lies *Raja Madaree*[3], possessing all from him as far as the Cape, bordering on them both.

All these are the disjointed Members of *Visiapour*, neither trusting on[e] another, nor uniting for the common Good of the Kingdom: Since *Seva Gi* has put all into a Ferment, they know not who to side with, being uncertain

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[1] For the important pepper trade of Kanara, see Watt, *Econ. Dict.* vi, Pt I, 262: *Bombay Gaz.* xv, Pt II, 321 ff.

[2] The Rāja of Seringapatam or Mysore was Chikka Deva (1672–1704). His cruelty was notorious (Wilks, *Hist. Sketches*, i, 128 f.: Rice, *Mysore*[2], i, 366 f.). His nose-cutting exploits are referred to by many writers (Wheeler, *Madras in the Olden Time*, i, 104: Grose, 391: Nelson, *Madura*, Pt III, 139: *Gazetteer Trichinopoly* (1907), i, 55. Manucci (iv, 99, 460) says that the Mysore horsemen used to cut off the noses of their enemies "with a sort of half moon in iron which they carry." For further details, see Thurston, *Ethnographic Notes*, 386 ff.

[3] The Nāyakka of Madura, who at this time was Chokkanātha, who reigned from 1660 to 1682, with a break of a year (1677) when he was deposed by his brother, Muttu Lingam.

of his Intentions; though he tells them, his Compeers the *Duccanees*, he is their Champion, and that none of them besides himself has the heart to stand up for their Country; and therefore if he chance now and then to rob them, it is but to reward himself and Soldiers for his and their pains in endeavouring to free them from a more unnatural Slavery.

This makes them begin to Cabal, not brooking the Perfidy of this Man on the one hand, or the Insolence of *Bullul Caun*, being a Foreigner, on the other; and to call in the *Mogul* to their Assistance; though still it is not resolved by a General Consent to be aiding to each other.

In the mean while *Seva* taking advantage of their Irresolution, ranges where he lists, quite through *Visiapour*, as far as *Badnagur*[1] in *Gulconda*, with one Detachment led by his Son; with another he flies himself as far as the Walls of *Surat*, leaving the Main of his Army at *Pundit*[2], before *Goa:* His Son, after he had plundered and burnt *Badnagur*, having been observed in his Passage thither by *Bullul Caun*, did no harm in *Visiapour*; but the Protector being to watch the Conspiracies of the *Duccanees*, could not be long out, for fear of being intercepted in his Return, and was therefore pressed to retreat to his Post; and *Sambu Gi* retiring, set upon *Hubly*[3], *Rabag*[4], and other Mart Towns, and ransack'd them: And *Seva Gi* his Father being not wholly disappointed at *Surat*[5] (which he

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[1] Bhāgnagar, the old name of Haidarābād. Sivajī passed through Haidarābād on his way to Jinji in 1676–7 (Manucci, ii, 203 *n.*: Grant Duff, 123).

[2] Phonda in Ratnagirī District.

[3] Hublī in Dharwār District. It was sacked by Sivajī in 1673, when considerable loss was caused to the English factory, for which satisfaction was vainly demanded (Anderson, 162).

[4] Rāybāg in the Kolhapur District: once a wealthy place, now a very poor town (*Bombay Gaz.* xxiv, 318).

[5] Sivajī made repeated raids on Surat between 1664 and 1675 (*Ibid.* ii, 89).

calls his Treasury) by their shutting their Gates upon him *pro formâ*, but give him his usual *Piscash*; whither on his repeated Excursions being forced to ask leave of the *Raja* of *Ramnagur*[1], to carry his Army (by reason of the *Mogul*'s Forces in the Plain Country) through his Country, over the Hills that reach within Thirty Miles of *Surat*; and having obtained leave of the *Raja* of *Ramnagur*, made himself thoroughly acquainted with the Avenues, and in his last Return took it; giving only this Reason, That it was inconvenient for him to trust him with the Door of his Exchequer. The Inhabitants of *Ramnagur* are the Salvages called *Coolies*[2].

Bullul Caun being at the Helm, thought fit, on these unaccountable Pranks, to send to him, to be informed how he durst attempt the Robbery of these Places? *O*, quoth he to the Messenger, *Go tell thy Master, I wonder how he durst dispossess any Great Man of Life or Place, without having advised first with me*, (reflecting on his usurping the Protectorship by the Death of *Cowis Caun*); *I did this only to let him know, I, not he, am a Member of* Visiapour.

By which, *Bullul Caun* foreseeing the approaching Storms, was too wary to stay the breaking of them over his Head, but fairly steps forth to prevent them: Wherefore surprizing *Sergi Caun* and *Timi Naig*, as they were moving to join with some of the forwardest of the *Duccanees*, the first fled, not without loss, the other was environ'd by *Bullul Caun*'s Army, and compelled to stand it out, till the Camels of War, who carry small Petareroes, slew the greatest part of them, and *Timi Naig* himself was trodden to Death under his Elephants Feet, whereupon an easy

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[1] Rāmnagar, another name for the State of Dharampur, under the Surat Agency (*Ibid.* vi, 254, 256: Manucci, ii, 132). The latter authority shows that Sivajī passed through it in 1665 on his way to Surat.

[2] The Kolī tribe of W. India (*Bombay Gaz.* ix, Pt I, 237 f.).

Victory ensued, the rest yielding when their General was slain[1]; who is not much lamented by the Nobles of *Canora*, whose Greatness he diminished by cutting them off upon small Suspicions, and advancing in their steads inferior Persons to great Employments; confining the Princess-Mother with her Son to a Pension, and that but ordinary. Things now begin to return to the Royal Current, and they confess him a Chastisement for their former Rebellions against their Natural Prince, vowing a perfect Allegiance to the Infant Prince, in whose Name since the Death of *Timi Naig*, all things are transacted.

These were to have been seconded by *Badur Caun*, the *Mogul*'s General, who has since appeared twice before *Visiapour* with a formidable Army, pretending to right the *Duccanees*, and to call *Bullul Caun* to an account, but has been as often repulsed by *Bullul Caun* and 12000 of his *Patans*[2], who the last time made them leave their *Kosanna*[3] or Treasure, some Elephants, 1000 Camels, several Pieces of Ordnance, and cut off the Bassa of *Busserah* with his Son, whose Heads were put on long Poles on the Walls of the City, and slew of the common Soldiers Four or Five Thousand; not without great damage on their own Party: So that he must be distressed for all this Rout given, unless the stomachful *Duccanees* come to an Accommodation (from which they are averse as yet), if, as it is likely, the *Mogul* send fresh and more numerous Supplies.

So miserable is that State where the other Members grow too powerful for the Head, as in this constituted Government of *Duccan*, where the King's Munificence to the Grandees has instated them in Absolute Authority

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[1] There seems to be no contemporary account of this action.

[2] This seems to refer to the campaign of 1679 in which the Mughal commander was Diler Khān Dāudzai (Grant Duff, 128 ff.).

[3] Hind. *khizāna*, *khazāna*, "treasure, treasury" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 497).

over their Provinces, that they are Potent enough to engage one another, and countermand the King's Commands, unless suitable to their Humours.

By the fundamental Establishment of this Realm, every Lord in course was to come to Court once a Year, and all to pay their Acknowledgment by doing Homage to their Sovereign, where he could demand their Heads, they becoming obnoxious to his Displeasure; but the present disturbances have found matters of excuse to release them from these Injunctions, and furnished *Seva Gi* in this bustle with encouragement to March up the *Gaot* again with 15000 Horse and 30000 Foot, knowing *Bullul Caun* neither to be at leisure from his Intestine nor Foreign Broils, to divert him from his wild Enterprises.

CHAP. IV.

Of the King and Kingdom of Visiapour; *their Policy and Government*; Hobsie-Cofferies *Preferred*: *The present Protector, and other Members of* Duccan: *The Life, Exploits, and Expeditions of* Seva Gi: *The Wealth, Strength, and Powers of each, with respect to the Great* Mogul *as Supreme.*

OF which Incendiary of *India*, as well as of these Parts, to give you some knowledge, it will be necessary (these Affairs being so interwoven) to look back as far as the time of *Ramras*[1], about Two hundred and fifty Years ago,

[1] From Ferishtah we learn that in 1489 A.D. Hemrāj, minister of the Kingdom of Vijayanagar, usurped the sovereignty. On his death in 1530 he was succeeded by Rāma Rājā, the "Ramras" of Fryer, who designing to gain the kingdom, raised to the throne an infant of the female line. On the Musalmān invasion in 1535, Rāma Rājā submitted, and then became undisputed ruler. 'Alī Ādil Shāh of Bījapur formed an alliance with him: but he insulted the Musalmān sovereigns by his arrogance, and a league was formed against Vijayanagar. In the battle of Talikota on the river Krishna (25th January 1565) Rāma Rājā was defeated, slain, and the Vijayanagar kingdom was broken up. These events occurred 110 (not 250) years before Fryer wrote. Bernier (p. 192) says: "The indiscretion of Raja, or King, *Ram-ras*, the last prince under whom it was united, caused the

sole Monarch of *India intra Gangem*, and the last Emperor that was a *Gentile*; he nourished Three Slaves that were *Chias Moors*, and advanced them to the principal Employs both of Court and Empire, to wit, *Catub Caun*[1], Master of his Hunt; *Nisham Maluke*[2], his Chief Treasurer; *Adul Caun*[3], *Catwal*, or High-Constable; from these Offices they rose to be Commanders of the greatest Provinces in the Realm, with as Absolute Power and Authority as could be transferred on Subjects, being Kings, only wanting the Appellation: The first of *Bagnagur*[4], now *Gulconda*; the second of *Dowlet Abud*[5], and all the Country from *Guzerat* to *Bengal*, and great part of *Duccan* (into which his Successors were crowded till they Annihilated); the Last, the other part of *Duccan*, with all the Continent on this side the *Gates*, till it conclude in the Cape of *Comora*[6].

Thus were they seated, and by the sequel not minded to be dismounted; wherefore they jointly Combined against their supine Master, whilst he too credulously relied on their Fidelity, and outed him and many of his Heathen Nobles, only such as were befriended by strong *Gurrs*[7], or Fastnesses upon the Mountains, who are those

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dismemberment of this vast monarchy." See the account of Caesar Fredericke (Hakluyt, iii, 212 ff.). The facts of these transactions, which are to some extent obscure, have been fully discussed by Sewell (*Lists of Inscriptions*, ii, 246 ff.) and by Rice (*Mysore*[2], i, 354 f.).

[1] The Qutb Shāhī dynasty of Golkonda, founded by Sultān Qulī Qutb Shāh, a Turkoman (1512–1543) (Sewell, *Ibid.* ii, 167 f.: Elphinstone, *H. of India*[6], 477).

[2] The Nizām Shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar, founded by Ahmad Nizām Shāh (1490–1508) (Sewell, 166 f.: Elphinstone, 476).

[3] The 'Ādil Shāhī dynasty of Bījāpur, founded by Abū'l Muzaffar Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh, son of Agha Murād or Amurath II of Anatolia (1489–1511) (Sewell, 164 f.: Elphinstone, 476).

[4] Bhāgnagar or Haidarābād.

[5] Daulatābād, in the Nizām's Dominions: Lat 19° 57′ N.: Long. 75° 18′ E.

[6] The Ghāt range extending to Cape Comorin.

[7] Hindī-Marāthī *garh*, "a fort."

that retain the Name of *Raja*'s to this day; and who are still notwithstanding so Numerous, that would they stand up unanimously for their ancient Freedom, the *Mahometans* could not stand in Competition with their Idolatrous Tribes; *sed quos Jupiter vult perdi, dementes facit*[1]; but whom God will destroy he makes them infatuated to their own Ruin; for they are so jealous one of another, that without that inbred Disposition it were impossible to keep them under.

After this Conspiracy every one betook himself to his Government, there being no more to possess themselves of; the imprudent King having given all away, even to his Person, which they scrupled not to Violate, Extinguishing the very Lineage, or leaving them so undefenceable, that they are only said to be a petty *Rajaship* in the Plain, and thereby easily prevented to aspire to their Lawful Sovereignty; the Supremacy being established in their own Hands, and shared to their mutual Contents, they took upon them without controul the Regal Dignity and Title of *Pedeshaws*[2], and exercised their Functions very Amicably some Years; and so long they kept themselves safe enough from the *Moguls*, who began to make Inroads into their Country, without any notable Success, till they found means to make them break with *Nishamshaw*, who maintained the Frontiers against them; for all that, he was beset afore and abandoned behind, he held them play a long while; though by degrees the *Moguls* from without, and the perverse remissness of his own Sect at home, reduced him to that part of *Duccan*, the entire Conquest

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[1] *Quem Iuppiter vult perdere, prius dementat;* said to be translated by Joshua Barnes (1654–1712) from Euripides, *Fragm.*

"Οταν δὲ Δαίμων ἀνδρὶ πορσύνῃ κακὰ,
Τὸν νοῦν ἔβλαψε πρῶτον.

[2] Hind. *pādshāh*, "emperor" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 652).

of which the present *Auren Zeeb* finished[1] (though unhandsomely) he having been Hospitably receiv'd when he came under Colour of a *Fakier*, and a Banished Man from the Court at *Jeneah*[2]; where I saw the Ruins of a sumptuous Edifice *Nishamshaw* Erected for the present Emperor of the *Moguls*: The Reward which he gratified him with, was the Extirpation of the Royal Race of the *Nishamshaws*; whose Destruction the remaining Two may at leisure repent, being thereby incapacitated to make Head against the *Mogul*, maugre all their Forces; when before, *Nishamshaw* alone could withstand, and even Defeat his most puissant Armies; but since his downfal they have enough to do to Guard themselves. The *Rajah*'s (the most Powerful of whom subscribed to his Jurisdiction) beginning to set up for themselves; so that the Two Kings of *Visiapour* and *Gulconda* are often left alone to endure the brunt, the *Rajah*'s coming in as they list.

For all that, what is left of *Duccan* under the King of *Visiapour*, is still a spacious Kingdom, reaching *North* to *Jeneah*, *South* to *Porto Novo*, bounded *East* with *Gulconda*, *West* with the Ocean[3]; though unsettled and ill Governed, whereby it is often distressed; but when it comes near to the upshot, *Gulconda* puts in either as a Mediator, or an Assistant with Men, (for which he pays dear if it be publickly, for then the *Mogul* turns his Arms on him) or Mony he helps him to underhand; though he is mightily awed by the *Mogul*, suffering the *Mogul*'s Ambassador to reside at Court in quality of a Supervisor; who Lords it without

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[1] The Nizām Shāhī dynasty of Ahmadnagar virtually passed under the Mughal Empire in 1607: but Malik Ambar, the twelfth of the line, held nominal rule till his death in 1626 (Sewell, 166 f.).

[2] Fryer has already mentioned this palace (vol. i, 331).

[3] The boundaries of the kingdom of Bījāpur varied at different times. For a nearly contemporary account see that of Schouten, i, 410, quoted in Bowrey, 20. Jeneah is Junnar, for which see vol. i, 307. Porto Novo is in the S. Arcot District, 32 miles S. of Pondicherry.

controul, causing his Coin to be stamped with his Master's Inscription, his Subjects Mulcted and Sessed by his Impositions; yet he is sensible should he seize *Duccan*, *Gulconda* would lose the stoutest Bulwark on that side his Kingdom, which hath made him these Forty Years a firm Confederate to *Visiapour*; sometimes sending *Piscashes* of considerable Value to *Seva Gi* and the Bordering Princes and *Raja*'s to disturb the *Mogul*'s Forces, other-whiles stopping the *Mogul*'s Mouth with a Tribute, as also his Generals with large Presents.

Which are the Reasons the *Mogul* hath made no farther Progress of late Years, satisfying himself to keep these Kingdoms in the nature of Vassals, though never absolutely Conquered; frustrated chiefly by the means of the Soldiery and great *Ombrahs*, who live Lazily and in Pay, whereupon they term *Duccan, The Bread of the Military Men*[1]: Or because that he is never wholly at leisure to prosecute these Wars himself, being always busied in one place or another of more import, as lately against the *Patans*, and now against the *Usbeque Tartars*; besides a vast Army always upon the Marches of *Persia* and *Candahar*[2]; so that this huge Empire seldome has its Auxiliary Bands entire: However distracted as they are, this flying Battalion would easily suffice to dispatch these Two Kingdoms one after another, there being ready

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[1] The Mughal Generals "conduct every operation, therefore, with languor, and avail themselves of any pretext for the prolongation of war which is alike the source of their emolument and dignity. It is become a proverbial saying, that the *Decan* is the bread and support of the soldiers of *Hindoustan*" (Bernier, 196 f.). Enquiries have been made in vain in search of the native version.

[2] The conflict with the Pathāns and other tribes on the N.W. frontier began about 1667, when Amīn Khān, son of Mīr Jumla, was appointed Viceroy of Kabul. He was defeated in 1670; and in 1673 Aurangzeb, with his son Muhammad Sultān, commenced a campaign against them in person, which after two years ended in a very imperfect settlement, while increasing trouble in India diverted the Emperor from the frontier (Elphinstone, 634: Elliot-Dowson, vii, 293).

on the Confines of *Duccan* never less than Forty thousand Horse, beside Foot. Notwithstanding all these formidable Numbers, while the Generals and *Vocanovices*[1] consult to deceive the Emperor, on whom he depends for a true state of things, it can never be otherwise but that they must be misrepresented, when the Judgment he makes must be by a false Perspective; whereby it is apparent on what Bases these Kingdoms are supported.

Of the Government of *Gulconda* something hath been spoken already, it remains therefore to give an account of *Duccan*; the substance of which is, that as the former was Modelled according to the Policy of *Indostan*, with this difference, that *Eunuch*'s wedded to their Master's Concerns, were promoted from the dregs of Slavery to Empire, so here *Cofferies*[2] at their first arrival as Slavish, are become as endeared to their Master; who, as they Merit, have the first places of Honour and Trust imposed upon them, with this Proviso, ever to be faithfully obliged to their Lord; in which point their approved Faith has rarely failed, Interest teaching them to be true to him that raised them; they thereby being liable to the envy of those they are purposely set as a Checkmate to; for by their exaltation, the swelling exorbitancy of other Princes is corrected, and they being only at the Will of their Master, are tied to their good Behaviour.

On the contrary, the Lords of *Duccan* are Born Princes, assume Honour from their Lands, have as perfect a Right to them as the King to the Kingdom, and descend from Father to Son by Inheritance (though the Commons are as meer Slaves as any where in the *East* besides, excepting none); whereupon they grow Insolent and Stubborn, and are not so easily Bridled, as where the Rule is Arbitrary, and are only restrained from Raising Men in the King's

[1] See vol. i, 205.

[2] See vol. i, 62.

Name and for his Use; but these make Peace and War, Build Forts, and fall out one with another, and with their Sovereign too at their own Pleasure; and hardly Unite, though a common necessity require; nay many times side with the Enemy.

However, when the King gets them in the Toil, they are treated as they deserve; for he makes bold with their Heads, takes their Estates wholly into his Custody and for his own Use, bestowing them on his Creatures, when Forfeited, making them understand, that they are obliged by Fealty to follow his Command, as their shewing themselves at *Visiapour* in course to pay their Respects demonstrates; which yet of late they have done but remisly, making a *Salam* at Four or Five Course[1] distance, and then accompanied in an Hostile manner, as if coming to Besiege the City, more than to perform their Duty: For which they plead the King's Minority, being either Afraid, or too Proud to commit their Persons, or give Homage to the Protector, being an Alien, and a *Patan*, who hath but lately wrested the Management of Affairs from the hands of *Cowis Caun*, to whom was intrusted the Safeguard of the King and Kingdom, by the Last Will and Testament of the Deceased King, and (with much ado) at length confirmed by and with the general Consent of the *Duccannees*; he being from an *Hobsy Caphir*[2] made a free Denizen, and Naturalized by the precedent King (who only in this Nation arrive to great Preferments, being the Frizled Woolly-pated Blacks) under the known stile of *Syddies*[3]).

He, although an excellent Man of War, submitted himself too often to be overcome with Wine (than which

[1] *Kos*; in N.W. India, about 2 miles: but its length varies throughout the country (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 261).

[2] Habshī Kāfir, an Abyssinian.

[3] See vol. i, 195.

among *Musselmen* nothing renders them more odious) and upon that score Pretences were found to lay the blame of the Government, and the Loss of the Country, over-run by *Seva Gi*, upon his Head, together with other Disorders. Though the *Patan* knew well his Commission was to put a stop to those growing Mischiefs, and had he not been emulous of the other's Charge, was Man enough to have deterred *Seva Gi* from his Attempts. But Ambition knows no mean, and therefore lets all to the hazard, rather than admit the Commands of a Superior; wherefore he stands Idle, and studies only how to displace the other, which was effected in a small time after his being called back. For he inviting *Cowis Caun*[1] to a Treat, who suspecting least, when nothing was pretended but Friendship, came with a slender Retinue, and taking off his Cups freely, fell dead drunk into the merciless Snare of his Enemy, who surprizing his Followers with 12000 brave *Patans*, made way into the Royal Castle, where the young King became a Prey, the *Caun* first a Prisoner, and then a Sacrifice to the Lust of the Usurper.

And this is the sum of the present Tumults of this Kingdom, which at this juncture of time, in the face of a mighty Host of the *Moguls*, and the frequent Incursions of *Seva Gi* from the Mountains on the other side, beside the Civil Mutinies and Dissentions within, to prevent ill consequences, calls for a skilful Pilot; for it never, since the primary defection of *Adul Caun*, was in such danger, from whom to this present King, is transmitted the Stile of

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[1] Khawās Khān, son of Khān Muhammad, and regent of Bījāpur, finding his situation perilous, opened negotiations with Khān Jahān, agreeing to hold Bījāpur as a dependent province of the Empire, and to give Pādshāh Bībī, the young King's sister, in marriage to one of the sons of Aurangzeb. When this became known, the nobles, headed by Abdul Karīm, conspired against Khawās Khān, and procured Karīm Shīrzah to assassinate him in 1675 (Grant Duff, 119 f.: *Bombay Gaz.* xxiii, 431 f.).

1. *Adul Shaw*: As *Cæsar* to the *Romans*, or *Pharaoh* to the *Egyptians*.
2. *Asoph* — *Adul Shaw*.
3. *Bissa Alah* — *Adul Shaw*.
4. *Ibrahim* — *Adul Shaw*.
5. *Sultan Mahnud* — *Adul Shaw*.
6. *Alah* — *Adul Shaw*.
7. *Sulton Socodre Cauder* — *Adul Shaw*[1].

Long controverted whether he should reign after his Father *Alah Adul Shaw*, it being bruited that *Alah Adul Shaw* was begotten by an Elephant-keeper, when the King's choicest Elephants were forced to be stabled near the Womens Quarters, to hide them from the *Mogul*'s Ambassador (whom they dare not refuse any thing he begs in his Great Master's Name), where one of them found the Conveniency to descend from the Trunk of his Elephant into the Queen's Apartment, and get her a Son when the good Old King was past his Labour, and withal she fixed him upon the Throne[2]: Which some of the Issue of *Sultan Mahmud* enquiring into, made their Claim, and upon the expiring of *Alah* stirred up Factions, with hot Altercations on either side; but were finally quelled by *Cowis Caun*, who continued *Sultan Socodre Caudre Adul Shaw*, till he was taken Prisoner and slain by *Bullul Caun*[3]

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[1] The following list gives the names of the Kings of Bījāpur:—1. Abū'l Muzaffar Yūsuf 'Ādil Shāh (1489–1510); 2. Ismā'īl 'Ādil Shāh (1510–1534); 3. Malū 'Ādil Shāh (1534–1535); 4. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh I (1535–1557); 5. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh I (1557–1580); 6. Ibrāhīm 'Ādil Shāh II (1580–1626); 7. Muhammad 'Ādil Shāh (1626–1656); 8. 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II (1656–1672); 9. Sultān Sikandar (an infant at his succession) (1672–1686). The dates are in some cases uncertain. The above list is taken from the paper by Major E. W. West in *Bombay Gazetteer*, i, Pt II, 639 ff.

[2] The scandal about the legitimacy of 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh has no foundation, and was due to the fact that he succeeded without reference or complimentary homage to the Delhi Court (Grant Duff, 70).

[3] Bahlol Khān (Grant Duff, 114 *n.*).

the *Patan*, who may do now as he thinks fit, the Young King being scarce Ten Years old. It was thought he intended to have delivered both King and Kingdom to the *Mogul*; but 'tis believed as long as he can keep both for his own Ends, he will not.

He yet *Salams* to the King, and carries it fairly, endeavouring to win the *Duccanees* to a good Opinion of him, which they seem little to regard, unless he would restore the Fort, City, and Royal Person of the King, and divest himself of his Power; all which he holds yet Hero-like, maugre all the Practices of his Adversaries; who now, as he hath attained the first Place in the State, we therefore must reckon him the Chief Grandee or Prince of *Duccan*, immediately next the King.

Bullul Caun, General and Protector.

His Salary is 60 *Lecgue* of *Pagods*, 20000 Horse, 100000 Foot out of the Kings Demesnes annually; besides Camels and Elephants equipped for Battel.

Sergi Caun's[1]

Country maintains 3000 Horse and 10000 Foot, at 15 *Lecgue* of *Pagods per Annum.*

Sunda Raja's[2]

Pepper-Country is worth 30 *L. P.* but pays one half into the King's Coffer, and now and then *Seva Gi* shares with him; it maintains in good Pay 12000 Foot, and 3000 Horse.

Samba Gi Raja, Brother to *Seva Gi*[3],

In *Baligaot* can raise 10000 Horse, and 20000 Foot; worth 30 *L. P. per Annum.*

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[1] Shīrzah Khān.

[2] Sonda in N. Kanara District.

[3] Sambhajī, eldest son of Sivajī by his first wife Jījī Baē, daughter of Lakhjī Jādū Rāv, was captured and executed by Aurangzeb in 1689 (Grant Duff, 159 f.).

Ekou Gi Raja, another of *Seva Gi*'s Brothers[1],

Who is very solicitous with him to desist from his lewd Courses of Robbing and Stealing, and content himself with his Purchase; which he derides, and tells him he is no slowbelly, to desire to expire lazily on a Bed, rather than to meet his final Doom in the Field; and to sit down as he does, with 10 *L. P.* 2000 Horse, and 8000 Foot.

Syddy Jore[2]

Maintained 2000 Horse, 16000 Foot, 28 *L. P. per Annum.*

Rustam Gemma[3]

Was worth 30000 *L. P.* 10000 Horse, 20000 Foot. Both these outed by *Seva Gi.*

Syddy Massute[4],

5000 Horse, 10000 Foot, 20 *L. P.* A potent and Eminent Member of the Realm.

Sheke Minas[5] in *Baligaot*,

Enjoys large Possessions there, as does the *Raja* of *Canora* in *Canora.*

Seva Gi is reckoned also as a diseased Limb of *Duccan*, impostumated and swoln too big for the Body; in some respects benefiting, in others discommoding it; beneficial, by opposing the *Mogul*'s Entry into the Kingdom; but

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[1] Ekojī, the Venkajee of Grant Duff (p. 55) was brother of Sivajī, his father being Shāhjī and his mother Tūkā Baī Mohitī. He obtained possession of Tanjore about 1674–5. See Rice, *Mysore*[2], ii, 24.

[2] Sīdī Johar, an Abyssinian officer, appointed to the command of the Bījāpur forces after the destruction of Afzal Khān and his army in 1660. He besieged Sivajī in the Panhāla fort (Grant Duff, 80: *Bombay Gaz.* i, Pt II, 652).

[3] Rustam Zamān, a Bījāpur officer, defeated in 1659 by Sivajī near Panhāla (Grant Duff, 80).

[4] Sidī Mas'ūd, an Abyssinian, son-in-law of Sīdī Johar. Grant Duff (p. 126 ff.) calls him Musaood Khan. Also see Manucci, iii, 230 *n.*

[5] Mr Irvine cannot find any trace of this officer.

prejudicial in being his own Paymaster, rewarding himself most unconscionably; all *Conchon*[1] being little enough for him, extending in Length along the Sea-Coasts, 250 Leagues, that is, from *Balsore*[2] Hills to the River *Gongole*[3]; where neither is he limited in his extravagant Desires, expecting only opportunity to gain further. Inland he hath not much, the *Gaot*[4] seeming to be a Natural Line of Circumvallation to the Up-Country, where it is Campaign, though below Hilly; so that you ascend to it by Mountains piled on one another, over which *Seva Gi* hath total Dominion, the *Duccanees* not striving to retake any thing, for all he hath blocked up their Ports, which may prejudice them for the future; an irreparable Damage, (*Arab* Steeds being the Life of their Cavalry); they having only *Porto Novo*[5] beyond *Tutticaree*[6] left them free.

Nor has he done this Injury to them alone, but the *Mogul* hath the same measure up as far as *Surat*; so that he enjoys them wholly, excepting what the *Portugals* have, and the *English* at *Bombaim*; which are of no Import in respect of Trade, while the *Caphalaes* are hindred to pass those Ways; of which did he know or consider the Advantage, he might amass greater Treasures than he purchases by pillaging and pilfering, and might come off with the Glorious Name of a Conqueror; whereas otherwise, following his barbarous Courses of Fire and Sword, he merits no more than to be branded as a Thief: Witness those intolerable Cruelties, Devastations, and Deserts made by him every where in his Range up and down in the *Mogul*'s Territories, as well as in the *Duccanean*.

'Tis undeniable he hath taken and maintains against

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[1] The Konkan. [2] See vol. i, 210.
[3] The Gangāvlī river in Dharwār District.
[4] The western Ghāt range.
[5] In S. Arcot District.
[6] See vol. i, 129.

the *Moguls* Sixty odd strong Hills; But the Cause is, the *Moguls* are unacquainted with, and their Bodies unfit for such barren and uneasy Places; so that they rather chuse to desert than defend them: Whereby it is sufficiently evident *Seva Gi* is unable in the Plain to do any thing but Rob, Spoil, and return with all the speed imaginable: And on that account it is *Aurenzeeb* calls him his Mountain Rat[1], with which the greatest Systems of Monarchy in the World, though continued by an uninterrupted Descent of Imperial Ancestry, have ever been infested, finding it more hard to fight with Mountains than Men.

Thus it falls out here, by the like Chance as in most Conquests, that though the major Part have submitted to their Victorious Arms, yet some out of Confidence in their Strength, Reputation, or Fortitude, have been so daring as to oppose by open Violence or secret Stratagem, the acquired Trophies of the Triumphing Party: As the *Apennegeni* did the *Romans*, and the Wild People about *Taurus* and *Caucasus* the *Grecians*; the *Welsh*, the *English*; the *Highlanders*, the *Switz*; and as many as have been encouraged thereto by the inaccessibleness of their Fortresses, or the Discontent of some Great Ones to head them: From whence, though inconsiderable in themselves, it is, that they presume to boast of their never being totally subdued.

Such are the *Rajahs* of the Mountains, the most eminent among whom is *Seva Gi*, derived from an Ancient

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[1] "Many of the aborigines Gentoos...retired for shelter to the numerous mountains of Indostan, and there burrowed in inaccessible fastnesses, upon which Aurenzeb gave them the humorous nickname of Mountain-rats" (Grose, 117). Mr Jadunath Sarkar writes: "The term is not mentioned by any contemporary Persian authority. At a later period Aurangzeb ordered that the Maratha guerilla bands should be designated 'robbers' (*dozdān*) in all official papers and histories (*Masir-i-Alamgīrī*, p. 514). In 1673, when Pratāp Rāo Gūjar demanded tribute (*chauth*) from Surat, the Surat officers called the Marathas 'mouse-like hole-seekers'."

Line of *Rajahs*[1], of the Cast of the *Bounceloes*[2], a Warlike and Active Offspring: His Grandfather was a Man in Esteem under *Nisham Shaw*, whose Name was *Vangu Gi Rajah*[3]; his Father *Shaw Gi Rajah*[4] was made Commander by the same King of *Juneah Gur*[5], where, upon that Rock his first Wife brought forth the Obdurate *Seva Gi*, his Eldest Son, and *Samba Gi*, his Second; by another Wife he had a Third Son, called *Ekou Gi.*

Upon the Downfall of *Nisham Shaw*, the Father and his other Sons listed themselves as Pensioners to the King of *Visiapour*, where the Father was, and the Sons now are advanced to considerable Employs. *Seva Gi* could not be won upon, but sought to raise himself by the Ruins of others, setting the lesser Lords at variance with their Prince, in whose Quarrels he always made sure of the upper Ground; wherefore his Father at his Death disinherited him, and instated his youngest Son *Ekou Gi*[6] in the *Rajahship* of *Benglure*[7]; a Starveling *Rajahship*, since it hath been harass'd by the Troubles of *Duccan*, where he sits down quietly, whilst this Turbulent Young Man works himself into Greatness.

At which the King of *Visiapour* beginning to cast an Eye, finding him aspiring, and intending to blast him in the Bud, sent a Potent Army against him, conducted by

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[1] According to Khāfī Khān (Elliot-Dowson, vii, 254) Sivajī traced his descent from the line of the Rānas of Chithor. His grandfather, Jādū Rāv, was supposed to be descended from the Rājās of Deogarh (Grant Duff, 40). The higher Marathas at the present day claim Rājput origin (Enthoven, *Census Report Bombay*, 1901, i, 183 f.).

[2] Bhonslē, the original family of Sivajī (Grant Duff, 40). The name is derived from the village Bhosāwat near the Bhosa fort, in Bombay (R. V. Russell, *Nagpur Gazetteer*, 33, 96).

[3] His grandfather was Mālūjī, who married Dīpā Bāī, sister of Vangujī, also called Jagpāl Rāv, Nāik Nimbalkar, Deshmukh of Phaltan (Grant Duff, 40).

[4] Shāhjī.

[5] Junnar Garh or fort.

[6] Ekojī.

[7] Bangalore.

Abdul Caun[1], an Experienc'd Soldier, yet outwitted by *Seva Gi:* For he understanding of his having taken the Field, while the Main Body was yet at distance enough, he sent to him flattering and seducing Messages, intimating withal, if he would but stop his March, at an appointed *Choultry* out of sight of each Rendezvouz, he would meet him, and kiss his Feet; begging that he would act the obliging Office of a Peacemaker between him and the King.

Abdul Caun thinking no less than that he meant sincerely, consented, though advised to the contrary by his Friends, (whether out of Superstition, as the dying of an Elephant, and other bad presaging Omens, or they doubting the Integrity of *Seva Gi*, I know not), but they could not prevail: At the Day prefixed therefore he takes with him his Son and a selected Number, which he credited would not be out-equalled by *Seva Gi*, upon his former Protestations and Hopes of Reconcilement; but the Perfidious Man had placed an Ambuscado, and with a smaller Shew in appearance than *Abdul* brought, waits his coming; who as soon as he spied him afar off, went forth to meet him, and prostrates himself before him with feigned Tears, craving Pardon for his Offence, and would not rise till he had assured him of his being his Advocate to procure it: Going to enter the *Choultry* together, he cries out, like a fearful Man, That his Lord (so he stiled the General) might execute his Pleasure on him, and ease him of his Life; which *Abdul Caun* surmising was because he was armed, and the other came seemingly unarmed, delivered his Sword and Ponyard to his Page, and bad him enter with Courage; where after some Parley he slips a Stiletto from under his Coat-sleeve, and then eying his Blow, struck it at his Heart, whereat the Signal was given, and

[1] Afzal Khān.

his Men came forth, in which Scuffle *Abdul*'s Son gave *Seva Gi* a Wound, but was forced to change Habit with a *Frass* immediately, and venturing through untrodden Paths hardly escaped to the Camp, who thereupon were so discomfited, that they quickly dispersed themselves, and left the Field open to *Seva Gi*[1].

Who, grown proud with this good Fortune, resolves not to return till he had sacked *Panala*[2], one of their Wealthiest and Strongest Cities; but finding it a Work not over-facile, they within, though thinly Mann'd, being obstinate, he disbands therefore, under pretext of Ill Usage, Seven or Eight Hundred of his Men, who presently took their way to the City, and offer their Service, complaining of *Seva Gi* as an Inhuman Butcherly Fellow, some Marks of which they produced on those suborned for that purpose: The present Occasions urging, and being willing to blind themselves with the Improbability of its being a Cheat, they within admitted them the City, but so as for some time they could not put their Plot in execution, the Citizens watching at Night the Gates with their own Men, and disposing them on the Walls and Out-posts: But the Inhabitants taken up with their Delight more than Security, had pester'd the Ditches with Gardens and Trees, whereby on a Set Night, they on the Walls having so contrived it, received their Friends of the Camp under Covert of the

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[1] This celebrated tale of Sivajī's treacherous assassination of Afzal Khān is told by Khāfī Khān (Elliot-Dowson, vii, 258 ff.: Grant Duff, 77 f.): but it is best known to modern readers by the graphic narrative in Meadows Taylor, *Tara, a Mahratta Tale*, chap. 78. Fryer's "stiletto" was the *Vāgnakh* or "tiger-claw," for which see Egerton (*Handbook of Indian Arms*, 27): but he also carried a *Bachhuā* or "scorpion," a crooked dagger. There seems to be no evidence that Sivajī was wounded in the struggle. The son and family of Afzal Khān were removed to a place of safety by Khandūjī, one of Sivajī's officers.

[2] Panhāla, a fort on a spur of the Sahyādrī range, in the Kolhapur District, about 12 miles N.W. of that city. It was captured by Sivajī's general, Annajī Datto, in 1659 (Grant Duff, 79).

Trees, and overpowering the Citizens, opened the Gates, whereupon the Enemy entred, and by this Treachery the City was gained for *Seva Gi*; which he makes his Retreat, ordering those Trees to be cut down that were so fatal to the former Possessors.

And now he forages the Country, and lays all waste in his Round, till young *Abdul* was reinforced to revenge his Father's Death, and to join with another General *Rustam Gemma*[1], with whom *Seva Gi* had been tampering: Such is the Covetous Nature of these people, that Money shall corrupt the most Loyal among them: Which made him when they were ready to give Battel, withdraw his Cavalry, leaving young *Abdul* and his Men to try it out with *Seva Gi*; whose Force, though an Handful, fell bravely on, and so gauled *Seva Gi*, that he wish'd him well off; *Abdul* crying out wherever he went, *Thou Coward* Seva, *here am I*; whereof though *Seva* had notice, he avoided him, saying, *He was a Rash Youth, let somebody else kill him:* He made through his Army two or three times in Person, till being tired he was fain to leave off, and speed to *Visiapour*, to complain of *Rustam*'s Falshood: Upon this *Rustam*'s Horse disbanded, some choice Friends only going over with him to *Seva Gi*, advising him to follow his Blow, and set upon *Visiapour* its self, which he did; and had not *Syddy Jore* come to its Relief with a vast Recruit, he had not only attacked, but carried it.

Then it was time for *Seva* to retire to *Panala*, where being long detained by *Syddy Jore*'s[2] lying before it, at length (as 'twas thought) through the Connivance of the said *Syddy*, he stole out by Night; and by a false *Pharmond*[3] takes the *Syddy*'s Town of *Rajapour*[4],

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[1] Rustam Zamān (Grant Duff, 80).

[2] Sīdī Johar (Grant Duff, 126 ff.).

[3] *Farmān*, "order."

[4] Danda Rājpurī. It was captured in 1661 by Sivajī. Sīdī Johar

pretending the *Syddy* was to surrender it in exchange for *Panala.*

After which the *Syddy* resorts to *Visiapour* to his Master, who bore his Disgust for letting the Traytor go, under a serene Countenance, and dismiss'd him with Thanks: But having made *Bullul Caun* Commander in Chief, he dispatches him after the *Syddy*, who being wary and doubtful of the King's Intentions, had provided to stand to it, putting *Bullul Caun* to Flight: Whereupon begins another Civil Discord; the King in Person resolves to bid at his Head, which otherwise by the clandestine Practices of *Bullul Caun* was hoped to be atchieved, as it proved, he doing that by Fraud he could not do by Force: For the Night after both Armies were in view, the *Omrahs* on the *Syddy*'s side forsook him, and he was slain, and his Head brought to the King, without any more Strokes fought; such deadly Venom bears Secret Malice and Hellish Insinuation.

This still makes for *Seva Gi*, for he was not able to cope with him singly; which Impediment thus lopped off to his hand, he seizes at leisure smaller Places, as *Dan de Rajapour*, whose Prince sueth for Protection to the *Mogul*, being beaten out of all but his Strong Castle at *Dan de Rajapour*, environ'd about by the Sea, but within Shot of the Main, which *Seva* with a great Effort has lain before these fifteen Years: The *Mogul* succouring it by Sea, it derides the Batteries of his Artilleries; and these are the Fleets we are so often troubled with at *Bombaim.*

In this Juncture of Affairs the King dies, and leaves a Babe to dispute for the Throne[1]; when *Seva Gi* enlarges

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rebelled, and owing to the treachery of his followers, was slain by them in 1662, in order to secure their own pardon (Grant Duff, 84).

[1] 'Alī 'Ādil Shāh II of Bījāpur came to the throne in 1656 and died in 1659, leaving as his successor Sultān Sikandar, an infant, who reigned till 1686.

himself, flies out as far as *Surat*, and comes home with Rich Booty; which hapned presently after the Emperor of the *Moguls* was warm in his Seat (by the Overthrow of his Brethren, and the Death of his Father *Shaw Juan*[1], by his Interest on *Raja Jesseign*[2]); who desirous to try if by Kindness he could reclaim this famous Rebel, allures him to Court (Faith being plighted for his Safety), where shortly after, the Outcries of the Women in whose Kindred's Blood his hands were imbrued, made him shift for himself in an Hamper on a Porter's Back, which passed the Guards among many other, which were fain to be sent as *Piscashes*[3] to his Friends, as the manner is when under Confinement: With this Slight he got away (not without the *Mogul*'s Privity), and 'tis believed will hardly venture to *Agra* again, unless better guarded[4].

For this he made a second Rape on *Surat*, and now lately has taken the *Rajahship* of *Rhamnagur*[5], though he had first spread himself more *South*, even to the Walls of *Goa*, from whence he slided to the Borders of the *Canatick* and *Sunda*[6] *Rajah*'s Country: His Chief Residence is at *Rairee*[7], where he bids Defiance to the Emperor, *Gulconda*, *Duccan*, *Portugueze*, and all the World; magnifying himself in his Strong-Holds; installed *Mau Rajah*[8] Two Years since, when I sent you a Journal of a *English* Gentleman's[9], sent Ambassador to him at that time: His Mother was then alive, to whom he shewed Filial Obedience: He is married to Four Wives, to whom he

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[1] Shāh Jahān died on 23rd January 1666.

[2] Rājā Jai Singh I, Rājā of Jaipur, died at Burhānpur 10th July 1667.

[3] P. *peshkash*, "a present" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 701).

[4] Bernier (190 f.) says that Sivajī escaped from Delhi; Khāfī Khān (Elliot-Dowson, vii, 279 f.) corroborates Fryer, and this is accepted by Grant Duff, p. 96.

[5] Rāmnagar now Dharampur in the Surat Agency.

[6] Sonda, N. Kanara District.

[7] See vol. i, 202. [8] Mahārājā. [9] See vol. i, 198 ff.

keeps religiously, being a strict Observer of his Heathen Rites.

He sways by *Brachmins*[1]; his Soldiers are Hardy Brave Fellows, fit for the Mountains; 30000 Horse is the most he can make, Foot innumerable.

Merchants have little Countenance from him: Of the Common People he says, *Money is inconvenient for them; give them Victuals and an Arse-Clout, it is enough.* They tell their Tale in *Moratty*; by Profession they are *Gentues*; some few *Moors* are among them; Whores and Dancing Wenches he allows none in his Army[2]: This *Barbarian* Commander being like the *Scythian Ateas*, who hearing one sweetly modulating on an *Ismean* Pipe, swore he had rather hear the neighing of an Horse, or the Clangor of Horns or Trumpets[3]. At Sea he is no stronger than his Neighbours; once he went Admiral of his Fleet of Grobs and Boats, against *Dau de Rajapore*, but Storms arising dishearten'd him for a second Adventure.

The Kingdom of Visiapour.

Although it be Hereditary, and not Elective, yet it comes nearest it at present, since the remaining part of the *Duccan* Kingdom is dwindled into it, and some more *Southern* have withdrawn, and the rest at Pleasure only own themselves Members thereof; it must borrow the Composition of these several disagreeing ones to make it bear the Port of a Kingdom.

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[1] The influence of Brāhmans over Sivajī was notorious (Grant Duff, 67 f.: Wilson, *Indian Caste*, ii, 31 ff.).

[2] No soldier in the service of Sivajī was permitted to carry any female follower with him in the field, on pain of death (Grant Duff, 103).

[3] Prof. Bensly writes: "Ateas was a Scythian King, presumably the same as the King who was defeated by Philip of Macedon. The story is told three times by Plutarch (*Apophthegm. reg.* 174 E: *De Alexandri fortitudine*, 334 B: *Non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicurum*, p. 1095 E, F). The flute-player was Ismenias, who had been taken prisoner by the Scythian King. Plutarch, however, does not make Ateas refer to the Clangor of Horns or Trumpets."

For when entire, it was of large Extent, taking in the *Zamerhin* and *Malabars*; and while the Three *Chias Moors* represented the Ancient *Geron*; where for the common Safety, if any Part were afflicted, every Member ran to the Succour of the other, as if it were to their peculiar Tranquility; their Counsels one, their Minds one, their Designments one; their Dominions flourished, and every one owned Subjection, and held their Provinces as Vassals to the same Monarch: When that Band was loosed, they were broken with more ease; *Duccan* is lost already, *Visiapour* seems declining, *Seva Gi*'s Example putting others on to un-yoak themselves; so that as yet no Tye is strong enough to reduce them to their former Temper.

Whereupon it is clear the *Duccanees* are a Warlike and Troublesome Nation, apt to dislike Government, Proud and Brave, having an Army more splendid than the *Mogul*'s; adorning their Elephants, Horses and Lances with Silver Bells and Feathers, Gallant and Rich in Apparel and *Sumbrero*'s[1]: The People Swarthy or Olive; of all Religions. The Country Fruitful, Rich, and Campaign, unless it be near the Sea-Coast, where the Mountains are blest with Woods and Cattel, the Valleys with a bountiful Increase of Rice and Coco-Nuts, with store of Rivers both Fresh and Salt; though these Hilly People are of a rougher Temper, more Hardy, and less addicted to the soft Vanities of Musick, Cloathing, Pomp, or Stateliness, being all Naked Starved Rascals; *Seva Gi*'s Men thereby being fitter for any Martial Exploit, having been accustomed to Fare Hard, Journy Fast, and take little Pleasure. But the other will miss of a Booty rather than a Dinner; must mount in state and have their Arms carried before them, and their Women not far behind them, with the Masters of Mirth and Jollity; will rather

[1] See vol. i, 134.

expect than pursue a Foe; but then they stand it out better; for *Seva Gi*'s Men care not much for a pitched Field, though they are good at Surprizing and Ransacking; yet agree in this, that they are both of stirring Spirits.

The Language of *Visiapour* is peculiar[1]. Cities of Note in this Kingdom, bear commonly the Names of their Grandees: Mart-Towns are *Hubly*[2], *Rabag*[3], and *Huttany*[4].

The King's Sea-ports *Gullean*[5], *Bimly*[6], Blocked up by the *Portugals*; *Rajapour*[7], *Dabul*[8], *Vingula*[9], *Carwar*[10], which is *Seva Gi*'s; the rest are Possessed by the *Malabar Raja*'s round to *Porto Novo*[11], which only is properly the King's; whose Revenues are very large, though not computed by common Rumour as the others are.

CHAP. V.

Shews the Pleasure and the Product of the Woods: The People bewitched to Idolatry; the Sottishness of the Atheist. I am sent for to Bombaim; *after some endeavours to go thither, and some time spent at* Goa, *am forced to Winter at* Carwar, *and then I return to* Surat.

THE Exercises here are common with *India*, only Cock-Fighting; for which Sport they have a Breed of Cocks as

[1] In the present District of Bījāpur Kanarese is the prevailing language; some speakers of Tamil and Hindustani are also found.

[2] Hubli, in Dharwār District.

[3] Raybāg in Kolhapur District.

[4] Athnī, about 70 miles N.E. of Belgaum. It is the Atteny of Mandelslo (Harris, *Voyages*, ii, 129): Attany of Ogilby (*Atlas*, v, 247): Hutnee of Grant Duff (p. 130). In 1679 it was captured from the Mahrattas by Dilāvar Khān, the Mughal general, who sacked it. It was on account of a quarrel with him about selling the people as slaves that Sambhajī left his camp, and became reconciled to his father (*Bombay Gaz.* xxi, 512).

[5] See vol. i, 308. [6] See vol. i, 315. [7] See vol. i, 154.

[8] Dābhol in Ratnagirī District: Lat. 17° 34′ N.: Long. 73° 16′ E. See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 289.

[9] Vengurla in Ratnagirī District.

[10] See vol. i, 151. [11] In S. Arcot District.

big as Turkies; which they Arm with Razors tied flat under their Claws, and faulched Two Inches instead of Gavelocks, with which they slash one another Mortally; so that the Dispute endures not long, for most an end the first or second Blow decides it[1].

For our own Diversion here we had none besides Shooting, in which we spent sometimes a whole Week in the Woods and Rivers sides; for if we expected Flesh, or Fowl, we must take Pains for it; no Beef being to be Bought here, though up the Country from the *Moors* we could; so that our usual Diet was (besides plenty of Fish) Water-Fowl, Peacocks, Green Pidgeons[2], spotted Deer[3], Sabre[4], Wild Hogs, and sometimes Wild Cows. Going in quest whereof, one of our Soldiers, a Youth, Killed a Tigre-Royal; it was brought home by Thirty or Forty *Combies*, the Body tied to a long Bamboo, the Tail extended; so they brought it to the House, where we saw 'twas Wounded in Three Places, one through the Head

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[1] Cock-fighting in India is as old as Vedic times (*Calcutta Review*, lxviii, 169). Natives still delight in making bulbuls, quails, partridges, and even avadavats fight. "Twenty-five rupees is by no means an unusual price for a fighting quail, and in Hyderabad (Deccan), the capital of the Nizām, a hundred and fifty rupees is often given for a good bird" (Kipling, *Beast and Man*, 24). The celebrated painting of a cock-fight between birds owned by the Nawāb Āsafu'-d-daula and the Resident, Col. "Jack" Mordaunt, painted by Zoffany, was in the Daulat-Khāna Palace at Lucknow, and was destroyed in the Mutiny. Lt.-Col. Dawkins at Over Norton House, near Chipping Norton, preserved a replica of it (Fanny Parkes, *Wanderings*, i, 181: 8 Ser. *Notes and Queries*, x, 263 f.). The picture has been reproduced in mezzotint by Earlom (Smith, *Catalogue of British Mezzotint Portraits*, i, 253). The "sport" still prevails in S. India (Thurston, *Notes*, 569: Gopal Panikkar, *Malabar and its Folk*, 187): and in Bombay, Burma, Gwalior, and the Central Provinces (*Imperial Gaz.* viii, 310; ix, 148; x, 31). This is the only quotation given in the *New Eng. Dict.* for *gavelock*, a forked fighting spur.

[2] Various species belonging to the sub-family *Treroninae* (Balfour, *Cycl.* i, 379). The southern green pigeon is *Crocopus Chlorigaster* (Jerdon, *Birds*, iii, 448).

[3] The *cervus axis* of Blanford (*Mammalia*, 546). See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 859.

[4] The Sāmbhar stag, *Rusa aristoteles* of Blanford (*Ibid.* 543).

with Two Bullets, another through the Body slanting up to the Shoulders, a Third in the Leg; it was a Tigre of the Biggest and Noblest Kind, Five Feet in Length beside the Tail, Three and an half in Height, it was of a light Yellow, streaked with Black, like a Tabby Cat, the Ears short, with a few Bristles about the Lips; the Visage Fierce and Majestick, the Teeth gnashing, Two of which she brake against the Stones for anguish, the Shoulders and Fore-legs thick and well set, the Paw as Large as the biggest Fist stretched out, the Claws thick and strong.

The Boy Shot it in the Night from a *Chouse*[1], or *Estarzo*[2], as it came to Drink, supposing it to have been a Deer; the first Shot was that under the Shoulder, which made her Spring Three times an incredible Height, at the last of which she fell into the *Chouse* from whence she saw the Flash, where with the *English* Boy were a *Comby*[3], and a *Comby* Boy of Eight Year old, asleep a little on one side; she pawed the Straw with her Feet, while all but the Child asleep fled; but being wrung by her Pain, she soon left the place with an horrible Noise that made the Woods tremble, all which awaked not the Lad, nor had it any Harm.

In this interval, the *English* Youth Charged again with a couple of Slugs, and tracing the Blood, as she was making at him, discharged through the Brain-pan, at which she was quiet; but to make sure, he made another shot at her, which he believed was that in the Leg: All this time the Moon was Obscured and Cloudy; the *Comby* that had left him and his Son, at length came with a many more, calling *Fringi*[4], the Term they have for *Europe*-Men and

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[1] For the history of this curious word, see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 212, and *New Eng. Dict. s.v.*

[2] Mr Irvine suggests that this is Fryer's reproduction of Port. *estação*: *estar*, "to be, to stand": *estança* for *estancia*, "a post, stand" (H. Michaelis, *Port. Dict.*).

[3] One of the Kunbī caste.

[4] A Frank or European (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 352 ff.).

Franks; the Boy was walking about, fearing to venture within reach, till at last laying aside his well-advised Suspicion, he approaching, found the Terror of the Wood Slain.

Disrobed of its Royal Hide, Two Bones of the Bigness and Figure of a Levator, presented themselves to our view, that had no Connexion with the other Bones, but wholly immersed in the Flesh *per sysarcasin*, in the ends of each Pectoral[1], and the Three circumducing Muscles, towards the joining of the Shoulder-blades, and the upper Bones of the Fore-feet, commonly called Shoulder-bones; of these there goes a Story handed by Tradition, as that Licking the Right Shoulder it appeases Hunger, the Left it whets it where these Bones lie; but probable enough it is, that Nature added these for its greater Strength; The Entrails were little variable, but the Heart was mighty, and the Liver (they say) had as many Lobes as that was Years old, which were Six and an half, like to a Foxes[2].

The Chief, to encourage the Lad, told him, That though he were a Boy, he had done a Manly Action, and therefore according to the Custom of the Country, in presence of all his Admirers, he plucked off his own Coat, which was *Venetian* Cloath of Silk and Silver, and gave it him. The Great *Ombrahs* always do the like upon any hazardous

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[1] The clavicles, which in both the lion and tiger are embedded loosely in the muscles, and not directly connected with either the sternum or scapula (*Ency. Brit.*[9] xiv, 681). These are valued as charms, and often mounted as brooches by English ladies (Fayrer, *The Royal Tiger of Bengal*, 3).

[2] "The natives have an idea that the ages of tigers and panthers can be told by the number of lobes of the liver, being one lobe for each year of age; but this theory is not, I believe, accepted by anatomists. It is true, however, and is a peculiar fact, that the number of lobes does vary considerably in different animals, and is greatest where other indications of age exist. I have shot tigers and panthers with from nine to fifteen lobes. If this has nothing to do with their age, it would be interesting if anatomists would give some reason to account for it" (Sanderson, *Thirteen Years among the Wild Beasts of India*[3], 273).

Atchievments, and if Wounded, throw them their Sashes and *Pamerins*[1] to Bind them up, and Cover them, though never so Rich: Having likewise another Custom among them, to Cloath the Gun with Scarlet that has made any notable Breach, Slain any great Soldier, or done any extraordinary Feat.

It is memorable what is attested, by these Woodmen, of the Tigre, that when he intends to Prey on the Monkies (with which these Woods abound) he uses this Artifice or Stratagem; the Monkies at his first approach give warning by their confused Chattering, and immediately betake themselves to the highest and smallest Twigs of the Trees; when the Tigre seeing them out of his reach, and sensible of their fright, lies Couchant under the Tree and then falls a Roaring, at which they trembling let go their hold, and tumbling down he at leisure picks them up to satisfy his Hunger: They are his accustomed Repast[2], seldom making Man his Meal, and they are judged (as St. *Paul*'s *Barbarians* did him[3]) guilty of some horrid Crime that such Vengeance overtakes; the Woods and Mountains yielding them variety of other Food. The Tigre is dull Scented, and not long Nimble, Three Leaps Tiring him, otherwise it's probable he would make more havock than he does. The She brings forth but once in Twelve Years, and then but a single Cub[4]; they are Ingendring Three Months, in which time their Fury as well as Lust rages upon one another; thus has Providence suppressed the Growth of this

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[1] See vol. i, 199.

[2] "Peafowl may be slain at times, but more often, I think, by leopards than by tigers, and the same may be said of monkeys" (Blanford, *Ibid.* 62: Fayrer, *Royal Tiger of Bengal*, 25).

[3] *The Acts*, xxviii, 4.

[4] From two to five young, and occasionally, it is said, even six, are produced at one time. She cannot have young more frequently than once in three years, because the cubs take that time to attain full growth (Blanford, 61: Fayrer, 22).

masterless Creature: Besides, if the Proverb be true, the Bitch brings forth but once in her life, or very rarely more; *Iteratus haud partus leænæ contigit*, notwithstanding *Ælian* says otherwise in his 4 *lib. de Historiâ Animalium.*

The most frequent in these Woods are the lesser sort of Tigres spotted like a Leopard; these are Cruel and Ravenous, but more Fearful than the others are; that Monkies are their Food, the very Ordure declares scattered up and down, where is visible the shagged Coats or Hair of these Creatures.

Many of these Apes fell by our hands, either for being noisy and impertinent spoiling our Game, or provoking us by their constant pursuing us, being of the largest size, upon which account many came under my Knife; opening them I found and observed their seminary Vessels turgid, their Virge White and Nervous. To Kill one of these the Natives hold Piacular, calling them Half Men, saying, once they were Men, but for their Laziness had Tails given them and Hair to cover them: Towards *Zeilon* they are Deified; at the Straits of *Baligaot* they pay them Tribute[1].

Bamboos make the gross of the Woods, which are High, Tapering, Thorny Trees, incumbred from the Roots with abundance of shrubby ones, the Bark Green and jointed with the Wood, the Branches are Tapering and

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[1] "It was for the good Service done to *Ram* in his life time by the Apes, that they are in so great Esteem both with the *Moors* and *Gentiles* in the *Indies*; and this arch unlucky Creature is in that Repute among them all, that they seriously declare, *were the blood of one of them spilt upon the Ground*, the Earth would suddenly become unfruitful, and the Judgment upon it would be at least a Years Famin" (Ovington, 360 f.). The Singhalese have the impression that the remains of a monkey are never found in the forest, a piece of folk-lore which possibly came from India, "where it is believed that persons dwelling on the spot where a Hanuman monkey, *S. entellus*, has been killed will die, and that even its bones are unlucky, and that no house erected where they are hid under ground can prosper" (Tennent, *Ceylon*[3], i, 133). The belief that monkeys are degraded men is common (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*[2], i, 376 ff.). Baligaot is Bālāghāt, "the country above the plains" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 54).

inclining, sending from every Joint sprouts of the same form, leafed like long Five-fingered Grass, the Body is thick and strait; their use is for Staffs, Poles, or Rafters for Houses, and Fences; being slit they are hollow and serve for Laths.

Those they carry their Palenkeens on, require an exact attendance, Shaping them while Young and Tender, and taking care to keep them growing in that Position[1]; Cut and Pickled they make good Achar: Bamboos are so general, that by way of Excellency they call all Sticks and Canes, Bamboos; the Woods are over-grown with them; for which reason often impassable.

I travelled to the Tops of the Hills for the *Cassia Fistula*[2] Tree, whose Trunk is but slender, but Tree tall, leafed most like an Ash, with small Veins, and the *Cassia* hanging down in long Green Canes or Cods, in manner of its Keys between the tender Nodes, by the Natives called *Singa. Et Lobel Siliqua, aut Cassia purgatrix Arabum Carobis similis.*

In the Groves about *Carwar* grows *Cassia Lignum*[3], *Xylo-Cassia*, or Bastard Cinamon; the Trees are large as a Pear-Tree, a Leaf of the like bigness, but ribbed like our Plantain, the main Bark and Body like other Trees, of no different Smell or Taste till dried, when it bites, and smells Spicy; the Leaf bruised and chewed smells like strong Cinamon, and upon the Tongue is as hot as a Clove; the Bark of the small Branches also when Green alters nothing

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[1] This method of bending the growing bamboo to form a curved support for the palanquin is noticed by P. della Valle (i, 183). Tavernier (ed. Ball, i, 46) says that such bamboos used to cost 200 écus, and that he paid 125 for one. Also see Ives, *Voyage*, 481.

[2] For a full account of the Indian Laburnum, the Amaltās of N. India, see Watt, *Econ. Dict.* ii, 217 ff.: Milburn, *Or. Com.* ii, 501. The tree is named in Kanarese *kakkai*, in Mahrati *vāyā* (*Bombay Gaz.* xv, Pt. I, 65).

[3] The *Cassia lignia* or Cassia Cinnamon (*Cinnamomum tamala*) (Watt, ii, 319 ff.: Milburn, ii, 500).

in Taste from Cinamon, but dried is more slimy, and is very good *Cassia Lignum:* It bears little long Whitish Flowers, of no Smell nor Taste, but the Leafs of the Branch that bear them have a more Aromatick Taste.

The *Thamarind* Tree[1] hath a small Leaf like a Vetch, bears the Fruit in a Cod like a *French* Bean, wherein is the Pulp, inclosing the Stones and Fibres; it is a great spreading Tree, the Body thick, the Bark rough and brownish, bears its Fruit in *March*; the *Indians* feed on it, and grow Fat with it; they have not the Art to preserve it with Sugar, but Salt it up: This is *Siliqua Arabica* too, but not *Nigra*, as the *Cassia Fistula* is.

Teke by the *Portugueze*, *Sogwan* by the *Moors*[2], is the firmest Wood they have for Building, and on the account it resists Worms and Putrefaction, the best for that purpose in the World; in Height the Lofty Pine exceeds it not, nor the Sturdy Oak in Bulk and Substance; the knotty Branches which it bears aloft, send forth Green Boughs more pliant, in Form Quadrangular, fed within by a Spongy Marrow or Pith, on which at the Joints hang broad, thin, and porous Leafs, sending from the main Rib some Fibres, winding and spreading like a Fan. This Prince of the *Indian* Forest was not so attractive, though mightily glorious, but that at the same time I was forced to take notice of the creeping Cow-Itch[3], raising its self upon the Shrubs and Under-woods, there spending in lascivious Twines its Verdure, leaving nothing but withered Stalks to be the Props of its brindled Offspring, which is a small Cod covered with a light and tickling Down; within, it includes in four Cavities, four specked Beans; the fallen Leafs made some appearance of a Nobler Stock,

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[1] *Tamarindus indica* (Watt, vi, Pt III, 404 ff.).

[2] *Tectona grandis*: Hind. Mahr. *sāgaun*, *sāgwān*.

[3] The irritating hairs on the pod of *Macuna pruriens*, the name being a corruption of Hind. *kewānch* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 268).

having a Countenance like those of Lawrel; the Root is difficult to find, being mixed among other Trees, like our White *Briony*.

Here grows *Nux Vomica*[1] on a Tree of different bigness, in a round Shell as big as an Orange, filled with White Pulp, where the Nuts are lodged.

Near the Sea grow *Squills*[2], or Sea-Onions, as also a Species of *Sarsaparilla*[3], with which they do great Feats with the Juice of the Leafs in Venereal Cases.

In their Fields they plant, besides Rice, *Nuchery*[4], a small Seed they make Bread of, as also *Cushcush*[5], which is Millet, Hemp, and Flax: In the Inclosures *Turmerick*[6], which rises with a broad Leaf like our Water Plantain, bearing a broad flaggy Leaf of a Span long, obliquely ribbed till it end in a Spear-Point at top; it proceeds immediately from the Root by a winding Stalk, which the main Leafs embrace, the other Leafs creeping through it till it rises Six Foot.

Ginger comes up like our *Gentian*; they pickle it well, but cannot preserve it with Sugar.

Potatoes are their usual Banquet[7].

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[1] *Strychnos nux vomica.* The seeds are collected either together with the fruit or from the ground, where they have been thrown by birds while eating the pulp (Watt, vi, Pt III, 379 ff.).

[2] *Scilla indica* (*Ibid.* vi, Pt II, 489).

[3] *Hemidesmus indicus*, still used as described by Fryer (*Ibid.* iv, 219)

[4] *Nāchanī*, *Nāchnī*, see vol. i, 297.

[5] Fr. *couscou*, the grain of African millet (*Holcus spicatus*) (*New Eng. Dict.* s.v. *Cuscus*). At Johanna, "after grace said, they fell to their meate, with bread made of Cuscus, beaten and mingled with honny and so fryed" (Sir T. Roe, i, 26).

[6] *Curcuma longa*, still largely grown in S. India (Watt, *Econ. Dict.* ii, 662).

[7] It is probable that the cultivation of the potato (*solanum tuberosum*) was introduced into India from Spain, some time between the end of the 16th and the beginning of the 18th century; but the evidence of date is very uncertain (Watt, vi, Pt III, 266). Terry (p. 197) speaks of potatoes served at a Mughal feast. The sweet potato (*batatas paniculata*) and the yam (*dioscorea sativa*) are widely grown in Kanara (*Bombay Gaz.* xv, Pt II, 19).

And to give the Soil its due Praise, it obeys in all things the first Commandment, *Increase and Multiply.*

For these Blessings, as if Men were to lose their Reasons, and sink below Brutes by a base Superstition, they are ready to acknowledge a Stock for a Deity, rather than to go without, infatuated by the Delusions of the Devil, being captivated at his Will; for which cause they not only make Oblations to him, but give up their Souls and Bodies to his Devotion: As might about this time have been beheld at an Idol Worship of *Priapus,* (where the Women prostitute themselves to him, and receive the Pleasure of Copulation, all that while being as it were possessed) at *Semissar*[1], on the other side of the Water from our House, where he lay with Two and twenty, who reckon it a great Honour, and the Husband thinks himself happy in his *Cornucopia.*

There are a sort of *Jougies,* Priests fit for such a God, among the *Linguits* of this Country, who practise this daily[2]; the Husbands entertain them courteously, wash their Feet, and the whole Family is at his Beck, as long as he stays to do the Wife a Kindness.

Others slash themselves with sharp Knives[3], and suffer themselves to be hooked by the Muscles of the Back, and hang so some Hours upon a Vow[4].

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[1] Sivesvar in the N. Kanara District is, as the name implies, a centre of Lingam worship. Indecency at such shrines is noticed by Barbosa, p. 96; P. della Valle, i, 39; ii, 224: Manucci, iii, 143 f.: Bernier, 305: Bowrey, 24.

[2] The Jangama priests of the Lingāyat sect, for whom see *Bombay Gaz.* xxii, 108 ff.; xxiii, 220 f. Scandals of this kind are reported at the present day.

[3] "And in the same manner the Moors who beg for alms...take great stones and strike themselves with them on the shoulders and the breast, and on their stomachs, as if they were going to kill themselves with them, and they receive alms not to do it, and to go away in peace. And others bring knives and stab themselves in the arms and legs before them, in order to extract alms" (Barbosa, 51).

[4] The Bhānd, or hook-swinging festival, is still held in the N. Kanara District to win the goodwill of the gods presiding over the crops; but

Under the *Banyan* Tree, an Altar with a Dildo[1] in the middle being erected, they offer Rice and Cocoe-Nuts to the Devil, and joining some small Ladders together made of Osiers, do the like; when the *Gomcar*[2] or Bayliff of the Town takes a falched Knife for Sacrifice in one Hand, and a Dunghil-Cock in the other, and cutting off its Head, fixes it at top of the Ladder[3], and sprinkling the Blood they all dance, and beat Brass Pots with a great Shout, saying, *The Devil must be pacified with Blood, God with Prayers*[4].

Some of these sell themselves to Wickedness, and these must be endued with the Spirit of Fascination, always nourishing a Familiar in their Families, which they keep mostly in the forms of Snakes or Serpents, appearing to them upon their Command[5]; and undergo fiery Afflictions to have the most hurtful Devil; and as they wreak their Malice more powerfully, esteem themselves more in favour with their Grand Master: These are the Dregs of the People, who are full of Envy and Ill Designs, who glory in their Shame of Incantations and Charms: Such as these

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the torture formerly inflicted upon enthusiasts is now prohibited. The Charkh Pūjā of N. India, the Shirry (Tamil *shedil*, "a hook") of the S. attracted much attention from early travellers. See, for instance, Barbosa, 95: P. della Valle, ii, 259: Tavernier, ed. Ball, ii, 254: Bowrey, 197 ff.: A. Hamilton, *New Account*, i, 273 f.: Ives, *Voyage*, 27. For more recent accounts see Forbes, *Or. Mem.*[2], i, 115: Ward, *The Hindoos*[2], ii, 22, 313: Mateer, *Land of Charity*, 220: Abbé Dubois, ed. Beauchamp, 605: *Bulletin Madras Museum*, v, Pt I, 38.

[1] The Lingam.

[2] Mahr. *gānvkar*, "headman of the village."

[3] Sacrifice of a victim while the priest climbs a ladder is found also in N. India (Risley, *Tribes and Castes*, ii, 117: Crooke, *Popular Religion*[2], i, 20).

[4] For this form of Shamanism, see Marco Polo[3], ii, 97 f.: Burnell, *The Devil Worship of the Tulavas* (*Indian Antiquary*, 1894): Caldwell, *Dravidian Grammar*[2], 582 ff.

[5] The snake is believed to represent the ancestral spirit of the household. For snake-worship in S. India, see Logan, *Manual of Malabar*, i, 183: *Bulletin Madras Museum*, iii, 275: *Manual of Travancore*, ii, 59 ff.: Rice, *Mysore*[2], i, 154 f.

are those that out of Fear pray to the Devil and Evil Spirits, saying, *God will do them no harm.*

The better sort acknowledge a God, and live in the Rules of their Tribes, abstaining from Flesh, and all things of a Sensitive Being: *Sicuti Pythagorici, qui herbis & bellariis tantum vivebant:* And these Patronize these more Innocent Rites, such as the Swains asking Advice of their Deities about Increase; and to that end offer Rice, Oyl, and Cocoe-Nuts in a thick Grove, where they piled an huge Heap of long Jars like *Mortivans*[1], about Figures resembling Serpents, before which they present their unbloody Sacrifice by the Priest, the People circling the whole Grove in a Ring, beating on Brass Instruments, and shouting.

In their *Hooly*[2], which is at their other Seed-time, I observed they cut a whole Tree down to the Roots, and lopped off the under-Branches till it became strait, when leaving the upper Boughs, they shoulder'd it with great Clamours, the *Brachmin* beginning a Note which they all followed: Thus they brought it into the Pale of their Pagods, before which, easing it down at one end, the foremost made a *Salam*, and hoisted it with the same Noise again, and about they went three or four times repeating the same; which being finished, the *Arch-Brachmin* digs an hole, and baptizes it with Holy Water, wherein they fix the Tree, crowning it with Flags aloft, and about the Body up to the Green Boughs they bind

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[1] Properly a jar from Martaban in Pegu (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 559). Such jars are found about rural shrines in many parts of India, and, according to Sir J. Campbell (*Notes*, 334 ff.) represent a shrine or house for the local spirit.

[2] Holī, the spring festival of which Fryer notices the characteristic features—the burning of the old year and the auguries of the season which are taken from the direction in which the flame and smoke are blown by the wind (Crooke, *Popular Religion*[2], ii, 313 ff.: Id. *Rural and Agricultural Glossary*, 125: Natesa Sastri, *Hindu Feasts, Fasts, and Ceremonies*, 42 ff.).

Wisps of Straw, to which they put Fire, and look earnestly on the Flame, according to the Ascent of which the *Brachmin* pronounces his Auguries; then they offer Rice and Flowers, painting their bodies with the Ashes, departing with a Mace of Flowers carried before them, beating of Drums and a great Noise. This resembles the *Ambar vallis hostia*[1], or Sacrifice for the Fields; of which see *Scaliger*, and also *Virgil*,

Terque novas circum fœlix fuit hostia fruges[2].

But to be clear, *& ut Fama ad liquidum producator*[3], let us consider, that these Underlings of the People that do these Services to the Devil, or are said so to do, may be aspersed: For the *Brachmins*, and other the Purer Sort, as they account themselves, may defame them only, because shedding of Blood is horrible to them, and therefore Diabolical: Besides, those Diseases that are said to be Devils put into one another, (which as many as I have met with, I have been curiously inquisitive of) their Phœnomenaes or Energies are discussed by Natural Causes, and as often cured by Natural Means; but on the contra[r]y, it is allowed where they resist them, it is suspicious: And the Devil without doubt cannot easier work on any, than the Weak and Simple, (wherefore he chose the Woman, not the Man) and upon that account may probably delude and overawe these People, that give themselves up to him wholly out of Fear, having not so much Virtue, Fortitude, and Cunning, to resist and check their own Lusts, as the Wiser sort. As for the visible appearance of a Devil or

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[1] The Ambarvalia, the Roman feast celebrated for the purification of the land and for invoking the blessing of Ceres on the crops (Fowler, *Roman Festivals of the Period of the Republic*, 124 ff.: Smith, *Dict. of Antiquities*[3], i, 99 f.).

[2] *Terque novas circum felix eat hostia fruges.* Virgil, *Geor.* i, 345.

[3] Cf. *nunquam ad liquidum fama perducitur: omnia, illa tradente, majora sunt vero.* Curtius, ix, 2.

Dæmon (which they say is common among them, by those that see it) I am convinced it may be credible; but in the mean while, Rage and Melancholy Madness, assisted by the Infernal Power, may create great Illusions to a Fancy fitted for such an Operation, and they may think they see things which in reality are not so.

Now as these, by the low and mean Conceptions they have of a Godhead, reach not the great Branch of its Omnipotency and Goodness, whereby it is able to defend them from all Assaults and Wiliness of the Devil, depressing their Understandings, bow under the intolerable Yoak of his Slavery; so there are a sort of sublimated Wits, that will own neither God nor Devil, and put all things upon Chance so long, that the very Notions they framed to themselves, after beating of the Air, fly out of their Giddy Heads *in Fumo.* Let them place themselves under the *Æquator*, where the Sun is at present, and take a Prospect on each hand of the Orderly Course of the Creation; How he passes the Ecliptick, and dispenses his Irradiations as far as either Pole: How within the Tropicks, entring the first Degree of the *Ram* till the second Degree of *Taurus*, it is Summer; that is, from *January* till the One and twentieth of *March*; when the Woods are most denuded of their old Leafs by the parching Heat of the Sun, though new ones succeeding, the Trees keep their perpetual Verdure; yet these lying on the Ground, makes this time then the most like Autumn of any till the Rains fall; which while the Sun is over their Heads make their Winter; till which come, it would be unsufferable living here, did not the Variable Winds gather the Clouds to obscure the Sun: After the Rains, follows their Spring, when by reason of the Remoteness of the Sun it is most pleasant living. Thus truly might *Ovid* be deceived, whilst he only reasoned, and not experimented, when he sang of the Zones and the Climes:

Utque duæ dextrâ Cœlum totidemque sinistrâ
Parte secant Zonæ, quinta est ardentior illis.
Sic onus inclusum numero distinxit eodem
Cura Dei, totidemque Plagæ tellure premuntur,
Quarum quæ media est non est habitabilis æstu[1].

But what Colour is there for the Ignorance of our Atheistical Young Gallants? Certainly none: Would they abate so much time from living, as to see and consider an admirable and well-contrived Providence, and not to harp too much on Casualty; which I am confident their own Logicians would hiss at as an Absurdity, to say, That such an exact Progress and Observance ever since the Frame of Nature was instituted, should continue such an unalterable Decorum on these Four great Anniversary Wheels, fitly adapted to every Climate; or that they first proceeded from a Bundle of Nonsensical Fortuitous Atoms conjoined into an Hodg-Podge of confused Nothings. For the very Matter being Chance, would without doubt produce a rare Stability for the Impressions of any Forms, but what must be blowed out of as idle Chimeras. I could wish therefore, such bold Disputes being waved, they would confess an All-wise Creator and Preserver of Heaven and Earth; unless they will verify the Proverb, *Atheus est talpa de die cæcutiens, Rationi autem paret qui Religionem sectatur:* The Atheist is a Mole, being blind at Noon-day; the Man that adores God, and follows Religion, is the only Master of his Reason. Which made *Cicero* profess in *Lib.* 2. *Divinat. Esse præstantem aliquam æternamque Naturam, & eam suspiciendam adorandamque, hominum genus cardoque rerum Cælestium cogit confiteri*[2]. Et in Nat. Deor. Lib. 2[3]. *Quid potest esse tam apertum tamque*

[1] Ovid, *Metam.* i, 45 ff.

[2] *Esse praestantem aliquam aeternamque naturam, et eam suspiciendam admirandamque hominum generi pulchritudo mundi ordoque rerum caelestium cogit confiteri* (Cicero, *De divinatione*, Bk ii, 72, 148 in ed. C. F. W. Müller).

[3] ii, 2, 4.

perspicuum, cum Cælum suspeximus Cælestiaque contemplati sumus, quam aliquod esse numen præstantissimæ mentis, quo hæc reguntur?

The Deputy-Governor of *Bombaim* being sick, the *Phœnix*[1]-Ketch was ordered to bring me up to that Island; wherefore the 6th of *April*, 1676. I took my leave of *Carwar*, which hath no peculiar Commodities or Manufactories of its own Product, but lies conveniently for the Markets of Pepper, Beetle-Nut, or Arrach[2]; Cloath, as *Potkaes*[3], *Suffaguzes*[4], from *Hubly*[5], six days Journy hence; Diamonds from *Visiapour*, ten days Journy: But the Factory decays, by reason of the Embroils of the Countrey, Merchants being out of heart to buy or sell: Here are good Returns to be made from this Port to *Persia*, and back again; as likewise from *Mocha*, from whence are brought Horses for War.

The Variable Winds kept us six days before we could reach *Goa*, though but twelve Leagues: At the City all Butchers Meat is forbidden, except Pork, upon account of the Heats, which afford not much Sustenance for the Cattel; and the approaching Rains, which robs them of that little Flesh they retain, and scours them to mere Carrion: Wherefore the Religion of the *Indians* has enjoined them the most Healthy Rule to avoid Sickness, the forbidding them to eat Flesh, than which nothing now

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[1] In a Bombay letter of 1686 we read of the trial of Robert Clark, who killed the gunner's mate of "his Majesties shipp Phoenix" (Forrest, *Home Papers*, i, 145). O.C. 4202 of 7th April, 1676, records that the *Phoenix* was sent down the Malabar coast, P. Gyffard, the Deputy Governor, being very ill. In 1677 a vessel of this name was commissioned to bring rice to Bombay from Kanara, "that we might not be beholden to our unkind Portuguese neighbours" (Edwardes, *H. of Bombay*, 52).

[2] Areca nut.

[3] Hind. *patkā*, "a waist-cloth, girdle, sash."

[4] Perhaps Pers. *sāf*, "clean," *gazī*, "coarse cotton cloth."

[5] Hubli in Dharwār District still manufactures various kinds of cloth (*Bombay Gaz.* xxii, 739).

can be more prejudicial. At this time the Citizens remove mostly to their *Aldeas*[1], the Air of *Goa* being less temperate than the Fields and open Bays.

The Diseases here are Epidemical, unless *Plagæ Veneris* be more Endemial, for which at this Season they have a Noble and Familiar Remedy, the *Mango* (which they have improved in all it[s] kinds to the utmost Perfection) being a Sovereign Medicine; they are the best and largest in *India*, most like a Pear-Plum, but three times as big, grow on a Tree nearest a Plum-Tree; the Fruit when Green scents like Turpentine, and pickled are the best *Achars* to provoke an Appetite; when Ripe, the Apples of *Hisperides* are but Fables to them; for Taste, the Nectarine, Peach, and Apricot fall short; they make them break out, and cleanse the Blood, and Salivate to the height of Mercurial Arcanaes; and afterwards fatten as much as Antimony, or Acorns do Hogs; these and *Sarsa*[2] being their usual Diet.

Cheruses[3] grow on a Tree whose Branches send forth a Stone first, like a Bean, whose Meat or Kernel when Green tastes like a Walnut, roasted, like a Chesnut; the Fruit follows, large and of a fine Colour, squashy, of a better Relish than Smell, the Leaves Oval and Succulent.

The Fruit the *English* call a Pine-Apple (the *Moors*, *Ananas*[4]) because of the resemblance, cuts within as firm as a Pippin; Seedy, if not fully ripe; the Taste inclinable to Tartness, though most excellently qualified by a dulcid Sapor that imposes upon the Imagination and Gustative

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[1] See vol. i, 185.

[2] This word has not been traced. It can hardly represent the pods of the *siris* tree (*Albizzia lebek*), for which see Watt, *Econ. Dict.* i, 156. The mango, containing acid and turpentine, acts as a diaphoretic and refrigerant.

[3] By some confusion, he seems to mean the Cashew (*anacardium occidentale*) (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 168).

[4] Brazil *nana*: Port. *ananas* (*Ibid.* 25).

Faculty a Fancy that it relishes of any Fruit a Man likes, and some will swear it: It grows on a thick Stalk like an Artichoke, emitting a Tuft of Leafs upon the Crown; the Leafs a-kin to a *Carduus Asininus* (as has been partly related already); the Juice will corrode any Iron or Knife, like Limon.

The Eleventh of *May*, being still Wind-bound, I received a courteous Invitation to return to *Carwar*; but I could not be diverted till the Full Moon had passed with Rain, Clouds, and Thunder;

Jamque erat in totas sparsurus fulmina terras[1].

When the Current changed, with which were brought innumerable Shoals of dead Fish; the Toddy worked on the Tree over the Pots, the accustomed Forerunners of the Rains, but hitherto fallible; which is a wonder even to the Country-People; though our Pilots have observed an unwonted Deviation these two or three Rains together.

The Nineteenth an Express coming from the Chief of *Carwar*, That a Gentleman there being almost desperate, importuned my Assistance, and I fearing to Winter here, for Expediteness chose a *Baloon*[2], though he had sent Horse and *Peons*, in case I could not acquire one; and the next day by Two in the Afternoon I returned to *Carwar* House, though two days after the Winds set in *Southward* together with the Rains, when the Ketch set sail for *Bombaim*, with a great Fleet of *Grobs* to the *North*. It is the Freshes from the Uplands that kills and sickens the Fish.

And now the Rains invade all *India*, which puts a stop to all Journying and Voyaging, as well as Warlike Preparations,

Aspera tum positis mitescunt secula bellis[3].

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[1] Ovid, *Metam.* i, 253.

[2] See vol. i, 182.

[3] *Aspera tum positis mitescent saecula bellis.* Virgil, *Aen.* i, 291.

Till St. *Francis*'s Moon in *August*[1], when the Earth is discovered, and the Rice begins to ripen, which all this while floated in Water, which it rejoices in; and this is the first Harvest; for it is to be understood this World produces two Harvests[2]; this most natural and uncompell'd, because of the Rain; the other about *March*, with great pains of bringing Water by Gutters to their sown Fields, which notwithstanding yields not so plentiful a Crop as the first, which this Year increases vastly; but the misfortune is, three quarters of the Land lies unmanured, through the Tyranny of *Seva Gi.*

October the Seventeenth I bad a final Adieu to *Carwar*, and embark'd in the *Berkly-Castle* with Mr. *Oxendine*, who

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[1] It is difficult to explain this statement. The Feast of St F. Xavier is celebrated on 3rd December. The name-day of a St Frances or St Francisca is on 21st August; but for various reasons this suggestion is inadmissible (10 Ser. *Notes and Queries*, x, 478): and it is equally improbable that the Feast was fixed on 15th August because on that date St F. Xavier arrived in Japan. Mr I. A. Ismael Gracias, writing from Goa, believes that Fryer intended to refer to St Lawrence's Moon, which corresponds with the opening of the bar of Goa, which closes at the opening of the monsoon and is free to ships when the monsoon ceases. Mr W. Irvine writes as follows: "In the 17th century there seems to have been some rule of navigation on the west coast of India which had reference to the festival of St Francis, falling on October 4th. For instance, F. Martin, *Mémoires*, fol. 334^{v}, being then at Surat, writes that the French Director, Barin, hearing of the arrival at Bombay on Sept. 6, 1681, of their vessel the *Président*, assembled a council to deliberate whether: 'l'on le feroit venir à Surate avant le Saint François—il y a du risque à la rade de Surate par le coups de vent quy arrivent quelques fois à la fin de Septembre et aux premiers jours d'Octobre.' A resolution was passed that the captain of the *Président* should not sail from Bombay until after the 8th October. Again on the 9th Sept. 1683 (folio 351^{recto}), they heard that the *Blancpignon* had reached Bombay. Martin says: 'J'ecrivis au sieur du Chesnay [the captain of the ship] sur son heureux retour et ordre de ne partir de Bombain qu'après la St François.' May it not be that Dr Fryer confounded this rule of navigation connected with the day of St Francis, the 4th of October, and the native festival of the new moon in August, of which the object was to propitiate the gods, and secure the safety of those 'who go down to the sea in ships'? or did he intentionally transfer the name of St Francis to the Indian festival of August, owing to their both having concern with the sea-trade and navigation at Surat?"

[2] The winter or *rabi'* sown at the close of the rains: the autumn or *kharif* sown after the first fall of the rains.

was called up to succeed Mr. *Gyffard*, the deceased Deputy-Governor of *Bombaim*[1]: Coming again to *Goa* I lodged at the House of a *French* Physician in the Camp of St. *Thomas*[2] which the City overlooks in the same manner Old *Rome* did the *Martian* Vale.

I saw there an unfinished Piece of the St. *Thomas* Christians, but the Troubles of their Prince called them back before it could be perfected; others say prevented in it by Thunder and Lightning. The great Traders of this Place for Diamonds are the two *Martins*, both *Jews*, yet to carry on their designs permitted to live as Christians, they constantly frequenting Mass, and at Table every Meal during our Stay had Hogs-flesh served up.

We left *Goa* on the Eve of St. *Xeverius*'s Feast[3]; the Tomb therefore was richly set out; and as *Erasmus* relates of *Thomas à Becket*, that nothing could be seen baser than Gold, so truly here Silver was the meanest; Pearls and Precious Stones, as well as Gold, cast forth their Lustre, by the reflection of the Virgin Flambeaus upon them: From the tops of the Towers belonging to the Jesuits, we beheld Lamps at Night striving to vie with the Stars for Number and Lustre; which appeared Gloriously on the Water as we Rowed down the River to our Ship.

Being in sight of *Bombaim*, the Tides horsed us to the *Northward*, which insensibly threw us on a Ledge of

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[1] Oxinden was appointed on Gyfford's death in 1676. According to O.C. 4258, 22 January 1677, he died on 22 November 1676, and Oxinden was sent to Surat in the *Berkley Castle* to succeed him.

[2] The College of St Thomas lay W. of the city, near the river; and has now disappeared. S. of the Church there was an incomplete building dedicated to the same Saint, near which Fryer lodged (Fonseca, 322 ff.). The well close by is described by P. della Valle (i, 182).

[3] His Feast Day is on 3rd December.

Rocks running from *Old Womans* Island[1], where the Ship Struck; after a Quarter of an Hour she cleared, but with the inconvenience of falling more upon them, not without danger of Bulging[2]; whereupon we Fired several single Pieces of Ordnance to give notice; for the Tide being made, the Water began to Ebb and forsake the Ship, so that she stood wavering without any prop, which way to incline; and though the Wind and Sea were Calm, yet the fear of Over-setting caused a general Consternation; no help appearing, we won on the Captain to spare Hands for the Yawl, wherein Four of us got Ashoar (though she was very Leaky) leaving them in despair of their Ship, her own pressure threatning to break her Back; at Night Boats and Pilots went off to her Relief, and with the Tide of Flood as she Floated, released her to a wonder, being heavy Laden, receiving no damage but in her Sheathing.

I Reimbarked and arrived at *Surat* the Eleventh of *December*, where giving you a general Account of all *India*, you will hear from me next out of *Persia*.

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[1] See vol. i, 176.

[2] The staving in of the bottom or sides of a ship: now obsolete (*New Eng. Dict. s.v.*).

A

SPECIAL CHOROGRAPHY AND HISTORY

OF

EAST-INDIA.

CHAP. VI.

Is a Summary Rehearsal of the Whole.

EAST-INDIA, when *Alexander*'s Sword had enlarged its self thither, was Inhabited by the *Dædali*[1], *Mezegi*[2], *Melli*[3], *Oxydraci*[4], and *Gangarides*[5] (if History tell truth); which Nations Time has long since worn out of the *Indian* Annals. Something they do speak of King *Pore*[6], but so uncertain, that it is a doubt whether ever he and *Alexander*

[1] Gen. Cunningham suggests that Mt Dantalok is probably the same range of hills as the Montes Daedali of the Greeks (McCrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, 435). The position of the city Daidala is very doubtful (Id. *Ptolemy*, 128).

[2] The position of Massaka or Mazaga, the capital of the Māsakāvatī District is unknown (Id. *Invasion of Alexander*, 334). Smith (*Early History*[2], 50) identifies it with Minglaur or Manglawar, the ancient capital of Suwāt.

[3] The Malloi (Skt. Mālavā or Mālaya) lived near the river Hydraotes, the modern Rāvī in the Panjāb (Smith, *Ibid.* 91). See McCrindle, *Invasion of Alexander*, 351 f.

[4] The Oxydrakai, whose name has been connected with Ūch or with Sūdra, lived on the upper course of the Hyphasis, the modern Biās (Smith, 92).

[5] The Gangaridai occupied the country about the mouths of the Ganges, and may best be described as the inhabitants of Lower Bengal.

[6] The country of Poros lay between the Hydaspes or Jihlam and the Akesinis (Chināb) (Smith, 56).

waged War, though good Authors do attest it. But it is plain that Two hundred and seventy Years ago, between the *Indians* and *Scythian Tartars*, under *Tamerlane*[1], there was begun, what after-Emperors compleated by the then introduced Forces, a total Conquest; under which the greater part of the Natives rest content with their Subjection.

India it's likely took its Name from *Indus*[2], whose Mouths are so choaked up by Sands, that they cannot speak much in this behalf neither, it being changed into the Name of *Sinda*, which imposes at this day a Name to as large a Province as is in all *India*; the shallow Currents of which River stretching themselves far and near to the River *Ganges* almost, has given occasion to Geographers to call it a Peninsula. Omitting these Disputes, I shall at present apply my self to give you a faithful Chorography and Account of those things that fell under my Remark: It is then the largest Country in *Asia*, which *Ptolomy* divides into Within and Without the River *Ganges*, being in Length from the *Golden Chersonese*, now called *Comory*[3], 3600 Miles: In the most *Northern* part the Day lengthens to Fifteen Hours, but in the *Southern* it has no more or less than Twelve: The Breadth of it, from the widest place, to wit, *Bengal* to *Candahar*, 1500 Miles; from whence, like a Wedge, it lessens into the Cape of *Comory*. On the *West* it was formerly bordered by the River *Indus*; on the *North* by the dispersed Mountains from *Taurus*; from the *East* it is washed with the Oriental Sea, and from the *South* with the *Indian*.

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[1] Taimūr, Tīmūr, or Tamerlane invaded India at the end of 1398 A.D., 278 years before the time of Fryer, assuming that he writes in 1676.

[2] India takes its name from Skt. *sindhu*, "the sea," the great western river whose name survives in the modern Sindh.

[3] See vol. i, 129. For the statement of Ptolemy, see McCrindle, *Ptolemy*, 32 ff.

It is a Land in all places very fruitful, and enjoys a Temperater Air than would be allowed by the Poet under the Fifth Zone, under which the greatest part of it lies; as often as the Sun visits the Arctic Pole, it brings with it grateful Showers and Winds (whose Heat otherwise would be intolerable) by which the Earth is cooled and made Productive; neither in the extreamest Heat does it want by the equality of Days and Nights after Sun-set, the favourable Dews of the Heavens, when you shall soon perceive a kind Moisture fall to refresh the Earth, and nourish the almost scorch'd up Plants; though these alone are not so powerful to take away the Labour from the industrious Husbandman, who this Season is forced by artificial Channels to assist Nature to produce, otherwise she would fall one short of a threefold Harvest in some places, every Year; but every where they have a double Harvest.

As the Sun becomes Twice Vertical to them within the Tropicks, at each Tropick but once, beyond never; so nearer the Equator the Sun and Stars ascend and descend more directly, but the farther from the Equator the more Obliquely, whereby the dawn of Light here is but short before either the appearance or fall of these Bodies, when as the Twilight is some Hours after Sun-set or afore Sun-rise the nearer either Pole: Having premised this, know they begin their Almanack with our Lawyers, or rather when the Sun is in the Equinoctial Line; but their Months being Lunary, every Third Year bears an Intercalary one, which they clap in *August*, and count it double[1]: The Names of their Months are[2]

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[1] For the system of the Hindu Luni-Solar year, see Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, Pt II, 22 ff.

[2] These names represent Skt. Phālguna, Chaitra, Vaisākha, Jyestha, Ashādha, Śrāvana, Bhādrapada, Asvinī, Kārttika, Mrigsiras, Pushya, Māgha.

March	*Falgunu* 1	*Bharapadrâ*	7
	Chaitru 2	*Asuinu*	8
	Vaixaque 3	*Castica*	9
	Zestthâ 4	*Margassica*	10
	Assadâ 5	*Puxu*	11
	Srauana 6	*Magu*	12

They distinguish their Time by Weeks, *i.e.* Seven days; *Sunday* being observed by the *Indians* as an Holy Day; agreeable to what is Taught by *Philostratus, Dion Cassius*, and *Justin Martyr.*

The Hours of Day and Night have all the Year round the same Number, Twelve; not minding their Length or Decrease: They have no Watches or Hour-Glasses, but measure Time by the dropping of Water out of a Brass Bason, which holds a *Ghong*[1], or less than half an Hour; when they strike once distinctly, to tell them it's the First *Ghong*, which is renewed at the Second *Ghong* for Two, and so Three at the end of it, till they come to Eight; when they strike on the Brass Vessel at their liberty, to give notice the *Pore*[2] is out, and at last strike One leisurely, to tell them it is the First *Pore*; which is repeated after the same manner for the Second about Midday, when they strike Two, and so at the end of the Third *Pore* Three, and of the Fourth Four; at the end of which *Pores* the Priests Ascend their Steeples and are Monitors to them of their Devotion[3]; And as solemnly dividing the Night into as many *Pores*; so that Thirty two *Ghongs* and Four

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[1] See vol. i, 258.

[2] Hind. *pahar*, "a watch," the fourth part of a day or night (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 736).

[3] What he means to say is that the Hindu *pahar* or "watch," of which eight constitute the day, is equal to 8 *gharī*, or periods of 24 minutes. The Muhammadans, too, have eight times of prayer (for which see Hughes, *Dict. of Islām*, 464 ff.): but these, of course, do not depend upon the Hindu method of reckoning time.

Pores make the Day, and as many more the Night; in all Sixty four *Ghongs* and Eight *Pores*.

As our Year is divided by the Seasons of *Spring*, *Summer*, *Autumn*, and *Winter*[1]; to every which we allow a Quarter of a Year: Theirs also agree with their Seasons of Weather, but square not in respect of the Account of the Year, having Four Months for each Season; but divide the Year into no more than Three Parts, *viz.*

Mew Colla	*The Rains.*
Ger Colla	*The Cold Season.*
Deup Colla	*The Heats.*

To every one of which they attribute Eight Constellations; are skilled in the Sun's Course through the *Zodiac*, have their wandring and fixed Stars, and are exact in the Eclipses of the Two Inferior Luminaries.

What has been Experienced in the particular Accounts, I must confirm again in this general one, That the first Full Moon in *May* brings the Rains, when it Rains a Fortnight only, and holds up till the middle of *June*, in which times, Empyemas, Fluxes, Fevers of all sorts (except Pestilential) Hæmorrhages, rage; after the Rains are fully settled, it grows Healthy. From the setling in of the Rains till the Full Moon in *August*, it Rains without intermission, after which it clears up for a Fortnight, and with little variation (bating the accidental Causes of its

[1] Linschoten (i, 232) dates "winter," or the rainy season, from the "last of Aprill" till the month of September, when "winter endeth with thunder and lightning." The usual Hindu division of the year is into six seasons—Vasanta, spring: Grīshma, summer: Varsha, the rains: Sarad, autumn: Siśira, winter: Sīta, cold. In S. India, with which Fryer was most familiar, the year is divided into four seasons—the dry or dewy season, the hot weather, the S.W. monsoon proper, and the retreating S.W. monsoon period (*Travancore Manual*, i, 57). Fryer's names represent Hind. *Menh Kāl*, *Jārā Kāl*, *Dhūp Kāl*. Abul Fazl writes: "They divide the year likewise into three parts; to each they give the name of *Kāl*, beginning from Phāgun [Feb.—March]. They call the four hot months *Dhūp Kāl*: the four rainy months *Barkha Kāl*: and the four hot months *Sīt Kāl*" (*Āīn*, ii, 18).

beginning earlier or later) it Rains all *September* till the *Elephant*[1] breaks up, the last Rainy Star: After which is the Harvest for Rice, when it is gathered; and then just after the Rains they are most Sickly, the Sun exhaling Vapours, the Earth grows Muddy and Stinking, though abundantly Productive: From thence to the latter end of *January* commences the Cold Season, when their Bodies are Healthier, and a lovely Verdure Cloaths the Earth; at the latter end of this they reap another Harvest without extraordinary pains; all this time the Evenings are very sharp, and at *Surat* I have seen an hoar Frost in the Morning. From *February* the first, till the Rains set in, are the Heats, and in *March* the Leafs fall off the Trees, yet always supplied with fresh, so that the Trees are always Green, though the Grass and Fodder are quite burnt up; and with difficulty, by the advantage of Aquiducts, a lean Harvest is brought forth: The Peasants Morning and Evening draw Water out of Wells by *Buffola*'s, or Oxen; or else by a thwart Post poised with a sufficient weight at the extremity[2], laid over one fixed in the Earth; the Water is drawn by a Bucket of Goats Skins; others have Pans or Buckets of Leather hanging round about a Wheel, some always in the Water, others rising up, and at the same time others pouring out as the Wheel turns round[3]: And thus are their best Gardens kept alive.

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[1] A translation of the Hindī sign Hathiyā (Skt. *Hasta*, "the elephant") which ushers in the close of the monsoon (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 343). "This day and the night past, fell a storme of rayne called the *Oliphant*, vsuall at goeing out of the raynes" (Sir T. Roe, i, 246 f.).

[2] The *dhenklī* is common in N. India. It is like the *shādūf* of Egypt (Lane, *Mod. Egypt*[5], ii, 25) a lever fixed on an upright post: one end of the lever is weighted, and the other holds a suspended water-pot, which is sunk in the well.

[3] The Persian Wheel, represented by the Egyptian *sāgīyeh* (Lane, ii, 26), is used in N. India and as far S. as Malabar.

The Mountains here are one continued Ridge, dividing the Two Coasts each from other, and are all along called the *Gaot*; they run *North* and *South* till they cross the *Imaus*[1]; and are the reason of some difference of the Seasons, both in respect of themselves and Low-Lands: They are plentifully stored with Woods, and Increase of all things, except Rivers, which are in some Places compensated by living Springs out of the Rocks, but every where by Water falling in the Rains.

The Rivers are innumerable; but those of greatest fame are *Indus* and *Ganges*, the latter not only for its many Navigable Streams for some Hundreds of Leagues, but for its Purity in the esteem of the most Religious; besides all which, are great Tanks or Ponds of Rain-Water, where it wants the other Benefits, with deep Wells, of extraordinary Costs and Charges; some purely for Pomp, and to transmit their Names to Posterity; others for the good of Travellers, but most for the sake of Religion, in which they are extravagantly profuse, every great City striving to outvye each other; the most admirable whereof are those cut on high Hills and Fortresses thereon, out of the main Rocks, seeming rather the Works of many Ages than one to finish them: At *Rajapore* are Hot Baths[2]; here are very few other Mineral Waters.

The Plain Country is Rich in all things necessary; Pasturage, by reason of the long Summers Drought, being the only lack; which in the Rains and Cold Season they have Time and Store to provide against. Cocoes grow all along the Sea-side round *India*, within the Tropicks, and

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[1] Fryer seems to have believed that the peninsular ranges, known as the E. and W. Ghāts, are connected with the Himalaya.

[2] The hot spring at Rājāpur in the Ratnagirī District, with a temperature of about 120°, is still used by natives for the cure of rheumatism and skin diseases (*Bombay Gaz.* x, 361). Hamilton (*New Account*, i, 246) mentions "a natural hot bath, within three yards of a very cold one; and both are very medicinal."

Beetle-Nut[1] is in great Request, not only for that it is the Courteous Entertainment or Farewel at all Friendly Interviews, but because wrapped in *Pawn*-Leaves with *Chinam*[2], it exhilarates and makes a kind of pleasant Drunkenness, if much eaten, as the Natives of any fashion are seldom without it in their Mouths; and these are peculiar to the Low-Countries as are Water-Melons; other Fruits, as Grapes, Mangoes, and the like, are the common Growth of *India:* Rice thrives best in Watry Places, it swimming always therein till Harvest, when the Water is let out by Drains; all other Corn rejoices better in drier Grounds; Cotton is a Lover of the same, from whence comes all the Wealth to *India, quæ effodiuntur opes*, which are dug for in other Places and laid up here.

Woods are every where, in which sometimes are met Inhabitants not yet mentioned, and for their Solitariness called *Men of the Woods*, or more truly *Satyrs*[3]; there are

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[1] See vol. i, 110.

[2] Hind. *chūnā*, the prepared lime used with the *pān* leaf (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 218).

[3] He probably means the Slow Loris (*nycticebus tardigradus*) which, as Col. Cunningham remarks, "is certainly wonderfully owl-like, strictly nocturnal in habit, and its size agrees fairly well with that of the inmates of the 'parrot-cage'." For this animal, see Blanford, *Mammalia*, 44. Aelian (*Hist. Anim.* xvi, 10) describes among the Prasii (Skt. *prāchya*, "easterns") apes of human-like intelligence, about the size of Hurkanian dogs, which eat food set out for them, and when they are satisfied, retire in an orderly way to the woods without injuring anything that comes in their way. We may compare the eastern stories of tailed and hairy men (Marco Polo, ii, 285, 301). "Man of the woods" is a translation of the Hindī *Ban-mānush*, which Abul Fazl says is "an animal like a baboon, dark in colour, and in stature and face resembling a human being, and walks on two feet. Although it has no tail, its body is slightly covered with hair. One of these was brought to His Majesty from Bengal, which performed the most astonishing antics" (*Āīn*, iii, 120). Grose (365 f.) gives a curious account of two creatures, similar to those of Fryer, which came from the Carnatic Rājā's country. "Among the mountainous districts of the eastern parts of India, in what is called the country of the Catharcludi, we find the Satyr, an animal of extraordinary swiftness. These go sometimes on four feet, and sometimes walk erect; they have also the features of a human being. On account of their swiftness,

Nereids too, or *Men of the Rivers*, but dye as soon as taken[1]: A Couple of the former I saw asleep in the day-time, in the Night they Sport and Eat; they were both in a Parrot-Cage, they had Heads like an Owl, Bodied like a Monkey, without Tails; only the first Finger of the Right Hand was armed with a Claw like a Birds, otherwise they had Hands, and Feet which they walk upright on, not pronely, as the other Beasts do; they were coloured like a Fox, of the length of Half a Yard; though they grow bigger till Twelve Years old, when they copulate.

Here are Sandy Deserts near the Gulph of *Cambaja*, and beyond *Bengala*, towards *Botan* and *Cochin China*[2], whence they fetch Musk[3].

Mines, besides those of Diamonds, Rubies, Agats, Cornelian, Granats, Topazes, and Iron, none are discoursed of; which with what else comes to Memory, shall be specified in their proper place. Of Diamond-Mines there are two sorts, the Old and New Rock, the latter the Larger, the other the Best; the first in *Duccan*, the other in *Gulconda*[4].

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these creatures are never to be caught, except when they are either aged or sickly" (Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* vii, 2).

[1] This is perhaps, as Col. Cunningham suggests, the Dugong (*halicore dugong*) found on the Malabar coasts and its estuaries, and which, as the generic name indicates, was regarded as a mermaid. "When we din'd in the Palace of *Siam*, 'twas in a very pleasant place under great Trees, and at the side of a store-pond, wherein it was said that amongst several sorts of Fish there are some which resemble a Man and Woman; but I saw none of any sort" (De la Loubere, *New Hist. Rel. of the Kingdom of Siam*, 33).

[2] He refers to the Rann of Cutch or the Thar, extending for 300 miles between the Indus and the Aravalli range. There is no desert of this kind in the direction of Bhotan (Skt. *Bhotanta*, "the end of Bhot or Tibet"; see Waddell, *Buddhism of Tibet*, 44 *n.*).

[3] For musk, the produce of the musk deer (*muscus moschiferus*) see Blanford, *Mammalia*, 552 f.: Watt, *Econ. Dict.* iii, 58 ff. For the modes in which it is procured in "Tartaria," see Linschoten, ii, 94 ff.: Hakluyt, iii, 264.

[4] Tavernier (ed. Ball, ii, 103) speaks of "old rock" and "new rock" turquoises. Dr Ball gives a full account of Indian diamond mines (*Ibid.* ii, 450 ff.).

Wild Beasts frequent here, are the fiercest Tigres in the World, with all their sorts; Lions here are some, but feeble and cowardly[1]; Leopards, *Balus*, a sort of Wolf[2], wild Cats, or Catamountains, Monkeys, wild Dogs, which they say Piss out the Eyes of Venison as they feed in the Woods, and so Venom them with their Urine, that they become their Prey[3]; Squirrels, Jackals, Mungooses, wild Bulls, Elephants, Rhinoceros, Buffolaes, Bears.

For Game, all sorts of Antelopes, Deer, Boar, and Elks[4]. The Fields are stored with Tame of all kinds, but mostly with Kine and Goats.

Fowls of Prey, Eagles, Vultures, Kites, Newries[5], Crows, which last hath an Enemy, though in Bulk contemptible, yet in Revenge implacable, being no bigger than a Bumble-Bee, yet it never leaves the Crow's Breast till it have left it breathless, making a Vent therein by its piercing Bill[6].

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[1] The Indian lion is now confined to the Gir forest in Kāthiāwār.

[2] Fryer (vol. i, 348) speaks of the "Yelling of *Baloos*, or over-grown wolves," which points to the hyaena, whose yells at night no one who has ever heard them, will forget. The word used points to Hind. Mahr. *bhālū*, "a bear": but Molesworth (*Mahr. Dict. s.v.*) says that this term is also used for a solitary female jackal. In some places also *bhāluk-olā* means a hyaena.

[3] "Another story about the wild-dog, also universally believed in India, and quoted by Hodgson and others as perfectly authentic, is that the urine of these animals is excessively acrid, and that they sprinkle with it the bushes through which they drive their prey, and then rush upon the latter when blinded by the pungent fluid. Another version is that they jerk the urine into their victim's eyes with their tails" (Blanford, *Mammalia*, 146, who discredits the tale, comparing it with similar legends about wolves in Europe).

[4] The Sāmbhar stag (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 343).

[5] See vol. i, 291.

[6] Col. Cunningham suggests that this is the King Crow (*dicrurus ater*), and refers to the unquestionable and conspicuous dislike which it bears to crows, especially during their nesting season. "The statement regarding size is, certainly, somewhat puzzling: but I believe this may be accounted for as the result of imperfect observation: for a Bhimraj or Drongo shrike, when flying at a little distance, might very easily be mistaken for a large black bird, possibly a crow, persistently pursued by a very small one, because the bare, or almost bare, shafts

For Game, abundance of all sorts: The Bats here are the biggest of any place[1].

Fishes common to *India* are not to be numbred, some spangled with Gold, Vermilion, and other Colours, not usual with us; but the best known are Sharks, Whales, Sea-snakes, (the assured Tokens to the Pilots of their approaching the Coasts of *India*[2]); Pilchards come in Sholes as our Herrings do[3]; Porpoises, Oysters, Crabs, Tortoises, the Sword-fish, *Sæpæ*[4], or the Ink-fish of *Gesner*, *Spanish* Mackrel[5]. The Rivers are well provided (and the Grass too) with Snakes, many of which are venomous, and some big enough to devour a Sow and Piggs, if the Natives may be believed.

Insects (besides Fleas) are large Flies in the Rain, who will be sure to be our Tasters, unless one stand purposely to beat them off with a *Mirchal*[6]; nor are Ants less vexatious, nothing eatable can be set by but they will be at it; but the greatest Pest is the *Mosquito*, who not only wheals, but domineers by its continual Hums; the Chints[7] are as venomous, and if squeezed leave a most Poysonous Stench; these breed in the Cotton, and where once they beset an House, they are not easily removed, they being Proof against all Fumes or Remedies used to destroy such-like Vermin; and therefore keep Possession, while the Inhabitants being not able to endure them, must turn out to other Dwellings; and these Plagues are in all their Quarters.

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of the long racquetted tail-feathers become invisible long before their terminal expansions have done so." For a lively account of the King Crow, see Eha [E. H. Aitken] *Tribes on my Frontier*, 140 f.

[1] Probably the Flying-fox (*pteropus edwardsi*). Sidi Ali (p. 31) speaks of some with wings 40 inches across, and P. della Valle (i, 103) mentions "Batts as big as Crows."

[2] See vol. i, 127. [3] *Ibid.* i, 131. [4] The cuttle-fish.

[5] The *scomber microlepidotus* of Indian seas is popularly known as mackerel.

[6] See vol. i, 218. [7] Bugs (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 201).

The Inhabitants and Natives of *India* are divided into Five Sects, to wit;

I. *Gentues*[1]; the first Possessors, *Aborigines*, or Natives.

II. *Moguls*; the next Invaders or Conquerors by Land.

III. *Portugals*; the first Discoverers or Conquerors by Sea.

IV. *Dutch, English. &c.* Strangers; partly by Conquest; partly by Trade.

V. *Parsies*, by Permission.

The *Gentues* are again distributed into these Classes;

The *Gymnosophists*[2], *Brachmins*, or Book-Men.

The *Quetories*[3], *Rashpoots*, or Soldiers.

The Merchants or Mechanicks.

The Labourers, Peasants, *Combies*, *Coolies*, *Frasses* and *Holencores*[4].

The *Brachmins*

Are chiefly distinguished by *Butts* and *Sinais*[5]; from these two Roots spring the other Branches: The difference was occasioned by a Famine in the Low-Countries, where the latter resided, on which account they were constrained to break their Fast with Fish, or else starve; for which reason they are greatly despised by the purer *Butt*, having never deviated from his *Pythagorean* Institution and Primary Abstinence from all living Creatures. Yet notwithstanding,

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[1] Port. *gentio*, "gentile, heathen": Hindus as contrasted with "Moors" or Muhammadans (*Ibid.* 367).

[2] The name comes from the early classical writers. The passages regarding them have been collected by McCrindle (*Ancient India as described by Megasthenes and Arrian*, 103 ff.: *Ancient India as described in Classical Literature*, 72 ff.: *Invasion of Alexander*, 313 ff.).

[3] Skt. *Ksatriya*, the warrior caste, the modern Chhattrī and Khatrī (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 482).

[4] See vol. i, 82.

[5] See vol. i, 199, ii, 38.

the *Sinai* keeps his Cotton-String Badge (the Characteristick Note of a *Brachmin*[1]) under his Left Shoulder as well as the *Butt*, and has his Disciples.

The *Butts* addict themselves to the profoundest Mysteries in their Religion, giving themselves over to an exact Regular Life, abstracted from all Worldly Employments, unless such as are for the saving and preserving of Life, the Chiefest and Skilfullest Physicians being of their Tribe: These are the Masters of all their Heathen Ceremonies, or Doctors of their Canon Law, every Tribe being instructed by them; they chiefly consist in Washing, Abstinence, and other Austerities imposed at their Pleasure.

The *Sinais* are more biass'd by Secular Offices, out of which are made their fighting Bishops, *Desies*[2], or Farmers of the King's Rents, *Pundits* (Governors of Towns and Provinces[3]), Physicians, Accountants, Scrivans[4], and Interpreters: Any of these, if they arrive to any smattering in Learning, are admired and highly reverenced by the Vulgar. Their *Cabala's* or Pious Secrets are kept in a Language communicated to none but themselves, as are all the Arcanaes of every Science, written in a peculiar Character; they are very dogmatical in their Dictates to the People, singing them out in a Lofty Tone, as the *Fauns* and *Bards* of old are reported, as the *Sybils* by *Lactantius*, the *Salians* by *Livy*, the *Druids* by *Cæsar*, the *Delphian* Enigmaes by *Herodotus*, the *Spartan* Rites by *Eustathius*: *Suas nimirum cogitationes non eâ pervulgatâ & detritâ & dissolutâ quâ quilibet uteretur oratione*,

[1] The *Janeo* or Brahmanical cord.

[2] See vol. i, 301.

[3] It is significant of Brāhman influence among the Mahrattas that the Pandit held civil offices. "Those Bramins who strictly follow the tenets of their faith, and devote their lives to the study of what Hindoos conceive the divine ordinances, are held in great esteem; but otherwise, in the Mahratta country, there is no veneration for the Bramin character" (Grant Duff, 5).

[4] Clerks, Port. *escrivão*.

consignare, sed aliâ exquisitâ, & astrictâ, & numerosâ, & vinculis alligatâ, præclarum æstimârunt. Dr. *Reyn. in Orat.* 6.

God they say is incomparably Good; in some of their Languages they hardly have a name for Hell; their Notions of the World's Creation and the Origine of all things, are mere confused Stories; their Account of Time is perplexed, and not to be reckoned up. For the Immortality of the Soul, they rely as well on *Plato* as *Pythagoras*, (*viz.*) That it is transmigrated, and in such a Revolution of time they appear in the World again, Princes or *Rajahs*, according to the Demerits of their former living, or Penalties inflicted on them to purify them, their Souls not being informed, but inclosed as a Bird in a Cage.

Whence it is that, propped by these Persuasions, the Women freely Sacrifice themselves, in hopes of coming into the World great and famous, after they have passed the *Limbo* of Transmigration with their Husbands[1]; and in the mean while are Canonized and Invoked as Saints by their Kindred and Relations; and their Patriarchs oblige themselves to incredible Abstinence from Food, for many days together refusing any Sustenance, undergoing the strictest Penances; having learned from *Pythagoras*, *Angustam & asperam esse viam ad vitam beatam.*

SCIENCES

In Esteem among them are principally Magick and Judicial Astrology, one of the Sectators of which on all accounts are consulted, as well by *Moors* as *Gentues*; Grammar and Rhetorick, some of them being Masters of *Persian*, *Indostan*, *Arabick*, *Sanscript* (or Holy Language)

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[1] On the Hindu doctrine of metempsychosis, see Dubois, 564 ff.: A. Barth, *The Religions of India*, 78.

Portugueze, and all the depending Speeches of *Indostan*, as *Duccany*, *Moratty*, *Conchany*, and the like; besides the *Canatick*, in which all their Sonnets and Poesies are expressed, being softer and more melting than the others; which is an Argument also of its Antiquity, *Indostan* not having a Character to express its self in, on which the later Dialects depend. Elocution, Physick, Metaphysicks, are not out of their Element: Their Philosophers maintain an *Aristotelian* Vacuity; nor are they quite ignorant of Medicks, though Anatomy is not approved, wherein they lean too much on Tradition, being able to give a very slender account of the Rational Part thereof[1]. In what Perfection Musick stands (as I am no competent Judge) I could never give my Ears the trouble to examine, it seeming loud and barbarous; yet they observe Time and Measure in their Singing and Dancing, and are mightily delighted with their Tumbling and Noise[2]. They as much dislike our shriller Musick, hardly allowing our Wayts fit to play to Bears, and our Stringed Instruments strike not their hard-to-be-raised Fancies; but our Organs are the Musick of the Spheres with them, charming them to listen as long as they play. Arithmetick being the most profitable Science, is the best understood by them; to which they have a Natural Propensity, and will in a trice, without the help of Pen or Ink cast up the difficultest Sums, and never pause upon it.

In some Places they write on Cocoe-Leafs dried[3], and then use an Iron Style; or else on Paper, when they use a

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[1] On the medical knowledge of the Hindus, see Weber, *History of Indian Literature*, Eng. trans. (1882) 265 ff.

[2] For Hindu music, *Ibid.* 271 f.: A. C. Wilson, *A Short Account of the Hindu System of Music*, Lahore, 1904: Crooke, *Things Indian*, 339 ff. Fryer elsewhere (vol. i, 151) speaks contemptuously of native music.

[3] The leaf of the palmyra palm, commonly called ollah (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 636).

Pen made with a Reed, for which they have a Brass Case, which holds them and the Ink too, always stuck at the Girdles of their *Scrivans*.

Among these are enrolled the *Muttanies*[1], *Jougies*[2], or Pilgrims, who lead a Beastly Life, having all things common, and are courted wherever they come; nor do they ever depart, without leaving a Stain to their Profession: When they ease Nature they scrape an Hole, as Dogs or Cats do, to bury their Excrements, to prevent breeding of Insects. These are covered, the first with a White Sheet, and carry Perfuming Pots, and Bless all as they pass; the others have a Snapsack, a *Mirchal*[3], and a patch'd Coat, rambling up and down as the *Fakiers*; the first are buried with their Heels upwards and Heads downwards; the others sometimes buried, sometimes burnt[4].

At the Heel of these may be reckoned the *Bengal* Juglers, Mountebanks, and Conjurers, as also the Dancing People; these are Vagrants, that travel to delude the Mobile by their *Hocus Pocus* Tricks (living promiscuously like our Gypsies); among whom I saw one who swallowed a Chain, such as our Jacks have, and made it clink in his Stomach; but pulling it out, it was not so pleasant to the Spectators (being mostly Ladies, for whose Diversion he was brought) they puking when it was accompanied with a filthy roapy Slaver.

Others presented a Mock-Creation of a Mango-Tree[5], arising from the Stone in a short space (which they did in Hugger-Mugger, being very careful to avoid being discovered) with Fruit Green and Ripe; so that a Man must stretch his Fancy, to imagine it Witchcraft; though

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[1] See vol. i, 254. [2] *Ibid.* i, 138. [3] *Ibid.* i, 218.

[4] He repeats these statements from vol. i, 254.

[5] The well-known Mango trick, for which see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 555.

the common sort think no less: *Sed Magus quò peritior eò detestabilior.*

I was promised to see a Fellow that cast up his Tripes by his Mouth, Stomach and all, shewing them to the Beholders; but he was excused, having some time allowed him to prepare himself for it: In his stead were brought me two; the first of which, by Suction or drawing of his Breath, so contracted his lower Belly, that it had nothing left to support it, but fell flat to his Loins, the Midriff being forced into the *Thorax*, and the Muscles of the *Abdomen* as clearly marked out by the stiff Tendons of the *Linea Alba*, as by the most accurate Dissection could be made apparent, he moving each Row like living Columns by turns. The Ætiology whereof I think to be this; that while all the Contents of the Belly are moved upwards, all Respiration is expelled, only the voluntary Motion of the Animal Spirits acts upon the Nerves (the Mind or Soul commanding them) while the Vital or Natural are compelled to the contrary.

After this I saw another Fellow of a good Habit of Body, that had taught himself by use to depress his *Sternum*, with the *Serratus Posticus Inferior*, *Sacro lumbus*, and Triangular Muscles, so that the Cartilaginous Substance of the Ribs, which Anatomists separate for Dissection of the *Thorax*, and throw it back over the Face, by this means was crowded in, that it made a notable Cavity as deep as the *Spine* would suffer; in the mean while the Man was almost strangled, as if pressed to death; for under this Constraint neither he nor the former could take their Breath, yet remained so some time: Which may be a visible Instance that divers Urinators[1] may continue a long space, being inured from their Infancy to keep under

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[1] "A diver, ducker," *qui in aquam mergitur, et sub eâ natat* (Facciolati, *Lex.* s.v.).

Water. From the rest of these I observed nothing more excellent than what is performed by our Rope-dancers, for Feats of Activity, or Slight of Hand. These pester every open place in great Cities and Publick Fairs, as they do in *Europe*.

The next Rank,

Is of the Soldiers, commonly called *Rashpoots*[1], who by their Valour have won unto themselves the Perpetuity of their Arms, and the Credit of being called in to the Aid of divers Princes, and are in continual Action under some one State or other bordering upon them; never altering their Vocations, being bred Warriors; these aspire not to great Charges, nor admit Commanders over them, unless of their own Cast; fighting Pell-mell, as every one is inspired from the Pay they receive; their Arms are Sword, Pike, and Buckler. A Soldier that puts on a *Crocus*-dye, intimates a Resolution either to dye or be Conqueror[2].

Opium is frequently eaten in great quantities by the *Rashpoots*[3], *Queteries*, and *Patans*, when they fight, which makes them run upon any Enterprize with a raging Resolution to dye or be victorious. Before Engaging, it is usual for them to embrace one another, as if parting for another World; esteeming it happier to be killed in their Vocation, than to submit to the Lust of a Conqueror[4];

[1] Rājput; see vol. i, 82.

[2] It was the custom of the Rājputs to smear their faces with saffron, and to wear the orange-coloured garments emblematical of Siva, when they were prepared to die. Khāfī Khān describes this in his account of the death of Rājā Rām Singh in the battle between Aurangzeb and his son Dārā (Elliot-Dowson, vii, 222). Tod frequently mentions the practice (*e.g. Annals*, i, 347). "Imitating the usage of the Hindu saints and warriors, they dyed their garments with yellow, the hymeneal colour, which indicated that they went to battle as to a bridal feast, and were determined to die, or live, exulting conquerors" (Malcolm, *Mem. Central India*[2], i, 358).

[3] For the vice of opium-eating among Rājputs, see Malcolm, *Ibid.* ii, 146: Forbes, *Rās Mālā*, 557.

[4] He refers to the rite of Johar, or general suicide, submitted to in

their very Women disdaining to own them for their Husbands, when they once turn their Back upon their Enemies: Of one of which Viragoes goes this Story; Her Mate had made an Escape honourable enough for a prudent Retreat, when coming home and craving Meat from his Spouse, after many obloquious Salutes she put this Affront on him, she served him with a Brass Ladle, whereas before his Meals were taken up with one made of Iron; whereof he demanding the Reason, she tartly replied, *Lest the sight of Iron should turn your Stomach from your Victuals, as it had done from Fighting*[1].

The *Banyan*

Follows the Soldier, though as contrary in Humour, as the Antipodes in the same Meridian are opposite one to another: These have forgot if ever they were *Jews*, or no; but if any of these People are such, these are most likely; and by a double Right of *Jew* and *Gentile*, are a Compound of the greatest Cheat in the World, the fittest therefore to make Brokers and Merchants of: They are devout Proselytes in the Worship of this Countrey, and tenacious of their Rites and Customs; strict Observers of Omens, so that in travelling ten Miles they shall sometimes double the Ground, to avoid encountring a *Caphala* of Asses, or to take the Hand of a Flock of Goats or Cows grazing: In the Rains they will not ride in a Coach, for fear they should kill the Insects generated in the Cart-Ruts, or stinking Puddles[2]: So foolishly superstitious are they and

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preference to falling into the hands of the enemy (Crooke, *Things Indian*, 294).

[1] Rājā Jaswant Singh, when he returned defeated, was thus contemptuously treated by his Rānī (Bernier, 40: Elliot-Dowson, vii, 231).

[2] This custom still prevails, particularly among the Jain merchant class. For these practices of Jain ascetics or Jatīs, see *Bombay Gaz.* viii, 156; ix, Pt I, 107.

precise in Matters of Religion; in cases of Trade they are not so hide-bound, giving their Consciences more Scope, and boggle at no Villany for an Emolument.

The Poor *Artisan*

Can hardly live for these, who will grind their Faces to fill their own Hords, as much as the *Desies* do

The *Peasants*

And *Combies*, who Till the Land, and dress the Corn, with no remarkable difference from other Nations; they plough with Oxen, their Coulters unarmed mostly, Iron being scarce, but they have hard Wood will turn their light Grounds. The *Gentues* thrash their Corn with a Stick, not a Flail; the *Moor*-men that are Husbandmen tread it out with Oxen[1] (but muzzle their Mouths), which they do in the open Fields, before they carry it home; fixing a Stake in the Earth, and yoaking the Oxen three, four, or more abreast, fasten them to a turning Pole, passing round till all be done.

Coolies, *Frasses*, and *Holencores*, are the Dregs of the People, and are not permitted to have their Funeral Rites or Marriages with the others; so abject, that the others think themselves defiled if they touch or converse with them.

All these are distinguished one from another by the Cut of their Beards, or different Painting of their Bodies and Foreheads, as well as winding of their Turbants. A *Brachmin* paints himself on the Front with a *Pythagorean* Y between his Eyebrows, descending to his Nose[2], and gives to every Tribe their peculiar Mark.

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[1] There is no distinction between the Hindu and Muhammadan modes of threshing corn. The methods vary according to locality and the kinds of grain.

[2] He seems to mean the *ūrdhva-pundra* or vertical forehead mark of the Vaishnava sect: cf. Manucci, iii, 346.

The *Gentues* wear little Beards, and shave them; the *Moors* great Beards, and trim them only to keep them decent: And since their Barbers[1] are so necessary, as well to give them their distinguishing Shape, as for other Uses, we will let you know they seldom keep Shop, but go about the City with a Checquered Apron over their Shoulders, and a Mirror in their Hands, which they offer any to see their Face in; and if any employ them, they are well paid with a *Gosbeek*, much under a Farthing: When they pluck out a Razor not an Inch long, a Bason of Brass as big as a Coffee-dish, and a piece of Castle[2]-Soap, which they dip into the Bason of Water, and rub about the Lips or Head, with no more Water than it gathers up, and so shave very well; and for the Head few out-do them, both for Ease and Readiness: They have an Iron Tool also, one end to pick the Ears, another to cut the Nails, both which they do dextrously, clearing the Ears of great quantities of that thick Wax inclosed therein; they also wash and anoint their Bodies, it being not obsolete here to anoint every day with Sweet Oyls, and the Poor, both Men and Women, with Cocoe-Nut Oyl, which being Rank, together with their eating *Hing*[3] and Garlick, makes them always smell so strong, that it is very offensive passing through Places of Resort, before one be accustomed to them; they also rub the Hair of their Head with a sweet Powder to get the sweat out, and then bedawb it with stinking Oyl, which they say preserves it[4]: In the Bath or Hummums[5] they have a large Province.

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[1] The methods described are characteristic of barbers throughout the East (Linschoten, i, 230: *Bombay Gaz.* ix, Pt II, 96 f.: Burton, *Ar. Nights*, vii, 212).

[2] Castile.

[3] See vol. i, 286.

[4] "Perhaps no branch of industry purely devoted to the supply of luxuries is of such importance in the East as that of Perfumery" (Watt, *Econ. Dict.* vi, Pt I, 134, where a full list of perfumes will be found).

[5] Hammām, the Turkish bath.

The *Moguls*

Are the Invaders of their Liberties and Properties, ruling tyrannically; yet more tolerable than what they were when first invited hither by the Plenty of this Country, and Scarcity of their own, which was a means to gain, as well as now to preserve their Conquest; for they were originally *Tartars*, coming from *Scythia* with their Leader *Tamerlane*, and thence prided themselves to be called *Whites*, and still do so in scorn of the *Indians*, who are *Blacks*; and it is the Flower of their Emperors Titles to be called the *Great Mogul*, *Burrow Mogul Podeshar*[1], who reckons but few Descents from *Tamerlane*, and is at present *Auren Zeeb*; who Governs by this Maxim, To Create as many *Ombrahs*[2], or Nobles, out of the *Moguls* or *Persian* Foreigners, as may be fairly entrusted, but always with this Policy, To remove them to remote Charges from that where their *Jageah*[3], or Annuity arises; as not thinking it fit to trust them with Forces or Money in their allotted Principalities, lest they should be tempted to unyoke themselves, and slip their Neck from the Servitude imposed on them; for which purpose their Wives and Children are left as Pledges at Court, while they follow the Wars, or are Administring in Cities or Provinces; from whence when they return, they have nothing they can call their own, only what they have Cheated by false Musters and a hard Hand over both Soldiers and People; which many times too, when manifest, they are forced to refund to the King, though not restore to the Oppressed; for all Money,

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[1] *Barā Mughal Pādishāh*, a translation of the European title The Great Mogul (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 571): but not used in this form by his dynasty. See vol. i, 283 f.

[2] For the Omrahs of Aurangzeb see Bernier's excellent account (211 f.), "The Mogol raises them to dignities, or degrades them to obscurity, according to his own pleasure and caprice."

[3] See vol. i, 300.

as well as Goods and Lands, are properly his, if he call for them.

Out of these are made Generals of Armies, under whom are Commanders of Hundreds and Thousands, as the Centurions and Legions; from thence to Fifty, Twenty, and Ten.

A Cavalier is Armed with a Poniard at the Right side of his Girdle; a broad Bladed Sword of an unwieldy size (and therefore poised with an heavy Pummel), on his Left side in a Belt; a Bow made of Horn strongly and artificially Glutinated[1] (*Adducto flectere cornua nervo*[2]) and Arrows in a Quiver at the Bow of his Saddle; and a great Lance in his Hand, with a Target hanging cross his Shoulders Bossed[3].

A Foot Soldier carries a Match-lock Gun, or else a great Lance and Target, and sometimes a Sword; the former are ranked under the great *Ombrahs*, or the Chief Commanders of *Hazory*[4]; the latter have a Standard of their own to repair to.

Munsubdars[5], or petty *Ombrahs*, own the King only for their Leader, and have not above Four or Five Horse under them.

Rousanders[6] are Cavaliers that are Paid by the Day, a considerable Salary, surpassing the *Munsubdars*, though not so Honourable.

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[1] See vol. i, 249 f.

[2] *Adducto flectentem cornua nervo* (Ovid, *Metam.* i, 455).

[3] On Mughal arms used in the Deccan, see Egerton, *Handbook*, 122 ff.

[4] Hazārī, a commander of a thousand (*hazār*) men. "Some of the *Omrahs* have the title of *Hazary*, or lord of a thousand horse" (Bernier, 212).

[5] Hind. *mansabdār*, "holder of an office of dignity" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 598). For the duties of these officers, see *Āīn*, i, 236 ff.

[6] Pers. *rozānahdār*, "one receiving daily pay." "Rouzindars are also cavaliers, who receive they pay daily, as the word imports" (Bernier, 215). On the organisation of the army, see W. Irvine, *Army of the Indian Mughals*.

A simple Cavalier under the *Ombrahs* have some of them Two Horses apiece, as his Lord favours him, and his Pay 30 or 25 *Rupees per* Month.

Among these may be reckoned the Artillery in which the *Fringi*'s are Listed; formerly for good Pay, now very ordinary, having not above 30 or 40 *Rupees* a Month.

For Artillery they have both great Ordnance and small Field Pieces, drawn by Elephants and Oxen, adorned with Streamers, besides Camels that carry Petereros[1].

The Soldiery are Paid, partly out of the Treasury, and partly out of the Lands allotted for that purpose.

The Husbandman is forced to Build low, and the Doors like entring Ports, otherwise the Soldier would bring his Horse in as well as himself.

The *Moormen* domineer over the *Indians* most unsufferably; and these are of the *Turkish* or *Arabian* Sect in matters of Religion, owning *Mahomet*, and his Brother to be his Successor: The *Chias*[2], or *Persian*, own *Mahomet* also, but place the Succession of the *Caliphship* in the Daughter; and this is a Dispute of so high a nature, that they Eat not, neither Communicate one with another.

There are some great Merchants among them, that are buoy'd up more by the Authority of their Religion and *Cast*, than Cunning, the *Banyan* being forced to flee to them for Patronage: They imitate a noble Pomp, and are not encountred abroad *nisi magna Comitante catervâ*[3], without a great Train, using many Odors in the Hummums, or Balneo's; nor are they without Oils, Perfumes, and Essences of Sandal, Cloves, and Oranges, which are in

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[1] Vol. i, 271 f. Here they represent the swivel-gun, known as *Zambūrak*, "little hornet," carried on a camel (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 985).

[2] The Shī'ah sect, as opposed to the Arabian or Turkish Sunnī; see vol. i, 83.

[3] Cf. *magnâ iuvenum stipante catervâ*, Verg. *Aen.* i, 497.

their kind very exquisitely drawn off. They go Rich in Apparel, their Turbats of Gold, Damask'd Gold Atlas[1] Coats to their Heels, Silk Alajah[2], or Cuttanee[3] Breeches, Embroidered Sashes and Slippers, Golden Hilted Swords and Poniards, as also Golden Embossed Targets; Silver and Gold Capparisons for their Horses, which are of *Arabia*, *Persia*, or *Turky*.

The *Moguls* Feed high, Entertain much, and Whore not a little.

The Women are conformable to the Wills of their Husbands, being truly no more than their Chief Slaves; Dressing the Victuals, and Waiting till their Lords have Dined, before they Eat themselves. Every *Cast* in *India* refuse to Eat with those of a contrary Tribe or Opinion, as well *Gentues*, *Moors*, and *Persians*, as any other; nor so much as to Dress the Meat in their Vessels, they accounting them Defiled.

A *Fakier*

Is an Holy Man among the *Moors*; for all who Profess that Strictness (for such it should be) they esteem them Sacred; and though before apparent Traytors, yet declaring for this kind of life, and wearing a patch'd Coat of a Saffron Colour, with a pretended careless neglect of the World, and no certain Residence, they have Immunity from all Apprehensions, and will dare the *Mogul* himself to his Face: Of this Order are many the most Dissolute, Licentious, and Prophane Persons in the World, committing Sodomy, will be Drunk with *Bang*, and Curse God and *Mahomet*; depending on the Toleration the *Mogul* indulges them with, having been one himself in the time of the

[1] Ar. *atlas*, satin (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 39).

[2] Turkī *alchah*, *alajah*, *alāchah*, silk with a wavy pattern (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 13).

[3] A silk or mixed silk and cotton cloth (*Ibid.* 289).

Contest among his Brethren; so securing himself till they had destroyed one another, and made an easy passage for him to the Throne; these People Beg up and down like our *Bedlams* with an Horn and Bowl, so that they enter an House, take what likes them, even the Woman of the House; and when they have plaid their mad Pranks, away they go to repeat them elsewhere. Under this Disguise many pass as Spies up and down, and reap the best Intelligence for the benefit of the Prince that Employs them.

The *Portugals*,

Not to defraud them of their due, might have Subdued *India* by this time, had not we fallen out with them, and given them the first blow at *Ormus*[1]; upon which the *Dutch* fell in and took from them the best of their Conquest, and all their Spice Trade; notwithstanding they have added some Christians to those formerly Converted by St. *Thomas*, but it is a fond report to say all *India*; no more than to have Conquered all the Inland Country, where they never pierced, their Possessions being most by the Sea-side; yet at this day they bear the Port of a Vice-Roy at *Goa*, who has his Council, and Governs after the Mode of *Portugal*: His Reign is Triennial, as are all their *Capitaneas*[2].

The *Dutch*,

Though a Commonwealth in *Europe*, find it properest to bear the face of a Monarchy here, appointing a General at *Batavia*, whose Power is extensive over all *India*: These begin to be taken notice of, and are esteemed as Men of War among these Nations; for obliging and fair Means

[1] Ormus surrendered to the forces of the British and Persians on 1st May 1622.

[2] See vol. i, 189.

prevail not here, they being of a less Ingenuous Temper than to be won by any other ways than Force; so that a Tyrannical Government in *India* is as necessary to keep them under, as abstaining from Flesh and Washing their Bodies, to keep them in Health; wherefore they have wisely Ordained them Religious Rites: And this is the reason they have a value for

The *English*,

Who they see are content with *Bombaim*, and a peaceable way of Trade; square with the Humour, and meet with the Praise of the *Banyans*; but command not that Awe by which these People are best taught to understand themselves.

The *Parsies*,

As they are called, are of the old stock of the *Persians*, Worship the Sun and Adore the Elements; are known only about *Surat*; where they are famous for what all other Nations deem infamous, the exposing their Dead to the Fowls of the Air: And these coming in by permission are obliged to Conformity with the Heathen Customs, being almost, as the *Gibeonites* to the *Israelites*, Hewers of Wood and Drawers of Water; having been curbed formerly by the *Gentiles*, and now by the *Moors* used as perfect Slaves; yet they endure this, that so they may enjoy their Religion, and that benefit, which is tolerated to the *Indians* more than any where, the liberty of getting Children, and an Indulgence for Poverty.

The *Indians* are Tall of Stature, Large Boned; their Colour varies according to the diversity of the Region; the *Parsies* are Straw Coloured, as *Hyppocrates* witnessed for them; *Æthiopians* are Black and Frizled; the *Indians* here are a mixture of these, but long Haired. The heat

of the Sun alters our *Europe*-Men to a dark Brown; such as Sail to and again constantly in these Climates, by going Naked and exposed to the Sun, being almost as Swarthy as the Natives, with this difference, that by Cloathing the Sunburnt wears off; but contrariwise, it remains indeleble on the *Indians*.

Infants when newly Born have the same Flesh Colour as ours; but in a few Days, by the inbred Humour, and the Sun's Heat, declare their Hew to be of the same with their Parents.

The Women are Small, and most an end Plump, and Short in respect to the Men; as to the order which Nature observes in them they are more forward than ours in *Europe*[1], and leave off Childbearing sooner. It is reported the Menstruums of the *Africans* are pernicious, but there is no such slander here, these being Neat, Well-shaped, and Obsequious to their Husbands; for the different Positions of their Veins it's a silly Query, they being of the same Species of the rest of the World, bating their Education, which is agreeable to them, and bear as good a Meen naturally, as ours instructed by the Masters of Behaviour; they keep their Breasts bound up carefully, and on that account are no more extended than they should be; they are quick in Labour, and Affectionate to their Children, Bearing them Naked on their Hips a straddle; are well Proportioned, and for that reason not ashamed to shew the Motion of their Bodies, all their Limbs being visible, yet love to hide what should not be seen: They are Cleanly, as well in their Cookery as in their Bodies, Pruning themselves by plucking the budding Hairs off their Privities up by the Roots, they being all as smooth there as the back of their Hands[2], though they

[1] Chevers (*Medical Jurisprudence*, 671 f.) disputes this belief.

[2] The use of depilatories is common in the East. Lane (*Mod. Egypt*[5], i, 35, quoting *Mishkāt-ul-Masābih*, ii, 359) says: "The

suffer the Hair of their Heads to grow in Tresses, which the Rich Embroider with Gold, Coronets, and Rich Jewels; the Poor Brade with Strings of *Jassamin* Flowers, and make Necklaces of the same; the Rich have their Arms and Feet Fettered with Gold and Silver, the meaner with Brass, Glass, or Tuthinag[1]; besides Rings at their Noses, Ears, Toes, and Fingers: Their Attire alters not into new Modes, nor need they a Taylor; a *Lungy*[2] being tied loose over their Shoulders Belt-wise, and tucked between their Legs in nature of short Breeches, besides a short Wastecoat, or Ephod to keep up their Breasts, being all their Garb; going constantly without Shooes or Stockins, Shoes being allowed their Midwives only[3], which are like the Mens, only a few Silk Tufts upon them for distinction sake. Those that have Buried their Husbands (or rather Burnt them) are rifled of all their Jewels, and Shaved, always wearing a Red *Lungy*[4], whereby to be known that they have not undergone the Conflagration; for which cause they are despised, and live more Uncomfortably than the meanest Servant.

The *Moors* Women are all Cloathed like the Men, as

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depilatory most commonly used by Egyptian women is a kind of resin, called libán shamee, applied in a melted state; but this, they pretend, is not always necessary; by applying the blood of a bat to the skin of a newly-born infant, on the parts where they wish no hair to grow, they assert that they accomplish this desire...some women pluck out the hair after merely rubbing the part with the ashes of charcoal" (*Ibid.* i, 51 *n.*). Quicklime and orpiment are also used (*Ibid.* ii, 44 *n.*). Orpiment is very commonly used by Hindus (Watt, *Econ. Dict.* v, 497). The Nāyar women in S. India use the razor: Tamils, a depilatory (*Bulletin Madras Museum*, iii, 195). "No part of their [Persians] body is allowed hayre, the upper lip excepted, which grows very long and thin, they turn it downwards: the oyle *Dowae* [Ar. *dawā*, 'medicine'], but thrice applyed annihilates that excrement ever after" (Herbert, 227).

[1] See vol. i, 219.

[2] See vol. i, 137.

[3] See vol. i, 237.

[4] The widow in N. India dresses in white: but among the Srāvak Vānyas of Gujarat her robe is ochre-coloured (*Bombay Gaz.* ix, Pt I, 102).

has been said elsewhere, only Vailed when they go abroad; and thus the *Indian* Women are Habited.

They use no swathing to their Babes, and have very few deformed or Dwarfs among them; are Temperate, and live to a good Old Age, when their Hair also turns from Black to Grey. What *Ovid* relates of the *Glaucus* Fish, *Æstivo nunquam conspectus Sydere Glaucus*[1], is true in these Hot Countries of the Colour of the Eyes of these Sun-burnt people, for I never saw but one Grey-ey'd, and therefore I suppose them rare; (unless they should tincture them with some *Fucus*, it may be of *Antimony*[2], which we read in the Sacred Page the *Jews* used, especially the Women, both to preserve them from Filth, and to procure a graceful Blackness, 2 *Kings* 9. *Jer.* 4. *Ezek.* 23.) Nor but one Dwarf, which was a *Brachmin*, 109 Years old, well limb'd, and of a quick Apprehension, being not Three Foot high, free from the Infirmities of Age.

In general they are melancholy inclined, and love a sedate Life more than Action; and whether that may not add to their Dye, I leave to the Sceptical; and conclude in this Point of these *Asiaticks*, as *Naso* did of his *Africks*;

> *Sanguine tum credunt in corpora summa vocato*
> *Æthiopum populos nigrum traxisse colorem*[3].

The *Indian* Wives dress their Husbands Victuals, fetch Water, and grind their Corn with an Hand-Mill, when they sing, chat, and are merry; such prevalency has Custom: They make their Bread as thin as Wafers, bak'd

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[1] *Ac nunquam aestivo conspectus sidere Glaucus* (Ovid, *Halieutica*, 117).

[2] Surma, a black ore of antimony, a tersulphide, is found in the Panjab, and is largely used as an application to the edges of the eyelids to improve personal appearance, and absorb the glare of the sun (Watt, *Econ. Dict.* i, 27). *Kājal* or lampblack is also used (Herklots, *Qanooon-e-Islam*, *Gloss.* cii).

[3] Ovid, *Metam.* ii, 235 f.

on broad round Plates or Stones, commonly of Rice; the *Moors* is made of Wheat, thicker and oblong, bestuck with Seeds to correct Wind, and mostly bak'd in a Furnace[1], which they stick to the sides, when Dough, as we see Cow-Turds on a Mud-Wall. Boiled Rice, *Nichany*[2], *Millet*, and (in great Scarcity) Grass-Roots[3], are the common Food of the ordinary People; which with a Pipe of Tobacco contents them.

CITIES

Are many and Populous; three more Renowned than the rest (*Dhilly*, *Lhor*[4], and *Agra*), for the Residence of the Emperor in one of these for every Season of the Year: The rest are known either for Trade, or the Provinces whose Names they bear.

Their Buildings suit with the Country and State of the Inhabitants, being mostly contrived for Conveniency: The Poorer are made of Boughs or *Oleas* of the *Palmeroes*[5], or Leafs of *Teke*[6], and thatch'd both Sides and Coverings; the middle sort of the *Gentues* with Mud one Story; floored with Cow-dung, which they do afresh every day, after they have swept and cleansed them: Under which, their Houshold-Gods, themselves, their Family, and Cattel, are all housed, and many times in no distinct Partition: They plaster Cow-dung before their Doors, and so keep them

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[1] Hindus bake on a griddle-plate (*tāwā*): Musalmāns in an oven (*tanūr*).

[2] See vol. i, 297.

[3] Used especially in time of famine, and by the Jungle tribes (Ball, *Jungle Life*, 695 ff., who gives a list of such things).

[4] Delhi and Lahore. Fryer never saw any of the great Indian cities, not even Ahmadābād and Bījāpur to which he constantly refers. He had still less knowledge of the great cities of N. India.

[5] For accounts of the beautiful palmyra palm (*Borassus flabelliformis*) which "retains the name *Palmeira brava*, bestowed on it by the Portuguese, as if to express their appreciation of its form and qualities" (Tennent, *Ceylon*[3], ii, 519: but see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 111): Watt, *Econ. Dict.* i, 495 f.: Pyrard de Laval, ii, 372 ff.

[6] Teak.

clean, having a little place or two built up a Foot Square of Mud, where they plant *Calaminth,* or (by them called) *Tulce*[1], which they worship every Morning, and tend with diligence.

The Richer and the *Moors* build with Stone and Mortar, sometimes with Brick, making small Shew without, but delicately contrived within, with Tanks, Airy and cool *Choultries,* private Recesses for their Women, Tarass'd atop, and sometimes three or four Stories high: Their Furniture is moveable, as Rich Carpets to sit on the Floor, and Rich Cushions behind them, without any Chairs within-doors, unless large Elbow Chairs when they sit at their Doors smoking in State.

And in these they spend their Lives, and have the Length of Days here as in other places, they spinning them out a long while: Whether the Cause may be attributed to the Air, or Temperance in their Diet, I know not: Yet this is certain, they are careful what they eat shall be well dressed, that the Stomach be neither over-charged, or have much trouble to concoct.

And as they are careful what they take into their Bodies, so are they solicitous to evacuate in good order, always washing their Fundaments, and squatting when they make Water[2]; nor do the Women scruple to do their Occasions in Publick Streets or Highways, going hand in hand for that purpose at Set-times of the day, and if any pass by in the Interim, will turn their bare Backsides upon them, but will hide their Faces; and this at Sun-rise and Sun-set every day they do in Droves; Men by themselves, and Women by themselves; if in the City, most an end, under dead Walls, where when they have finished, they

[1] The Tulsī or holy basil (*ocimum sanctum*) specially revered by the Vaishnava sect (Yule, *Ibid.* 931). It is usually grown, as Fryer says on a little masonry pedestal in front of a temple or house. See a pretty drawing by Fanny Parkes (*Wanderings*, i, 43).

[2] See vol. i, 94.

wash the Filth off with their Left Hand, because they feed themselves with the Right. The *Moors* think hard of them for this Freedom; nor do they conceive a better Opinion of our Women, when they see an *Englishman* salute them with a Kiss, or walk together in a Garden to take the Innocent Diversion there: So that the Jealousy of the *Moor* must not reflect on the Modesty of our *Indian* Women.

As soon as they are gone, the Cows come and lick up their Ordure (which they watch for), being nothing but Herbs, Roots, or Pulse, digested without any other mixture either of Flesh or Strong Drink: If they unload themselves out of the Town, they make towards the River-side, or Brinks of their Ditches, and leave a filthy Stink behind them, notwithstanding they eat nothing Carnous, which remains upon their Excrements; and for that reason it is somewhat strange the Kine should be so fond of them: And hence is it that in their Streets, and near the Towns and Cities, it is but ill taking the Air. Yet however Natural this becomes to them, as well as the rest of Mankind, they are not in this particular to be taxed with Sloth and Sluttery in respect of their Bodies; for besides their constant Washings at the Times of their Devotion, they never eat nor drink before they have cleansed themselves with Water poured all over them from Head to Foot; nor will they suffer their secret Parts to harbour any Nastiness, they using Depilatories for Breast, Armpits and Groins, are always shaving their Heads and Beards, cutting their Nails, washing their Mouths, and rubbing their Teeth, whereby they look like Ivory.

And since Cleanliness is the next in esteem to Godliness in Human Society, I will conclude with their Washers, which are Women as well as Men; they are hired at easy Rates, and are the best in the World, as our *Calicuts*[1]

[1] See vol. i, 90.

transmitted hither declare; they have each a little Pit, into which the Water springs, and near it a great smooth Stone, on which they beat their Cloaths till clean; and if for Family-use, starch them with *Congee*[1], and so carry them home when dried; if for Sale, they lay them a Whitening, and after *Congee* or stiffen them, and so deliver them to the Packers, Labour being to them instead of Soap, for were they at much Expence therein they could not live, their Pay being inconsiderable. And by this small Taste of their unweariedness in Pains-taking, their Cheapness of every thing, and their faring hard, all their other Craftsmen may be valued, who work for nothing, comparatively with our *Europeans*; though in many things they exceed them for Curiosity, as in staining of Calicuts, and fine Work either in Gold or Silver.

The *Language*

At Court is *Persian*, that commonly spoke is *Indostan*[2] (for which they have no proper Character, the written Language being called *Banyan*[3]) which is a mixture of *Persian* and *Sclavonian*, as are all the Dialects of *India*: A good Argument to me of the peopling the World this way originally from the *Scythian* Mountains after the Deluge; their Speech containing many Words agreeable enough to ours in Sound, as well as Figure; more Scraps whereof may be found when we come to *Persia*.

The last thing Observable is the Coins, Weights, *&c.* A Collection whereof follows:

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[1] Tamil *Kanji*, rice-water (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 245).

[2] Hindostani (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 417).

[3] Fryer may have heard of the Mahājanī or "merchants'" character, used by native bankers. Urdu, or Hindostani, is written in the Persian character: Hindī in the Devanāgarī. For the scripts used with the current vernacular tongues, see Dr Grierson's chapter in the *Census Report of India*, 1901, i, 247 ff.

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

COINS,

WEIGHTS,

AND

PRECIOUS STONES,

Usual in those Places of Trade within the Charter of the Honourable *East-India*-Company.

Tantum scimus quantum in Memoria tenemus.
Ex Reminiscentiâ fit Scientia.

CHAP. VII.

COLLECTIONS

OF THE

COINS, WEIGHTS, AND *PRECIOUS STONES,*

Usual in those Places of Trade within the Charter of the Honourable *East-India* Company.

Coins of Surat, Amadavad, Agra, &c. *in* India.

THere are divers sorts of Coins in Gold, seldom used in Payments among Merchants, some of a greater, others of lesser Value; so also in Silver; but the *Rupee* is the most ordinary, whereof there are;

RUPEES { *Cazzanace*[1], *Hundea*[2], *Magarree*[3], *Chillannee*[4], } All valued at *Mamoodoes* $2\frac{1}{4}$; the latter is of greater Weight, but course.

MAMOODOES[5] are current only in *Surat*, and Parts adjacent; they are worth somewhat less than an *English* Shilling,

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[1] This probably represents Hind. *Khazāna kē*, "of the treasury." See Sir T. Roe, ii, 352–456 where six of these equal five Jahāngīrī rupees, the latter worth about 2*s*. 6*d*. or 2*s*. 7*d*.

[2] Apparently connected with Hind. *hundī*, "a bill of exchange"; but no kind of rupee seems to be known at present by that name. The term, however, seems to have been current, as we find "rupees hundies" mentioned in the early correspondence (Foster, *English Factories* 1618–1621, p. 85).

[3] This has not been satisfactorily traced. Mr Irvine suggests Ar. Pers. *mukarrarī*, "fixed."

[4] Hind. *chalanī*, "current." "Roupies Jangers [Jahāngīrī] of 100 pisas [picē], which goeth four for five ordinary roupies of 80 pisas called cassanes [see *n*. 1], and we value them at 2*s*. 4*d*. per piece; 100 challenes of Agra, which goeth for 83 pisas" (Foster, *Letters*, ii, 87, and cf. Sir T. Roe, ii, 352: Danvers, *Letters*, i, 285).

[5] Pers. *mahmūdī*, "praised." Writing of Surat, Herbert (p. 38) says: "The most currant coynes here and through *India*, are *Pice*, *Mammoodees*,

but are so accounted in the Company's Books; and among Merchants in the Countrey, $2\frac{1}{4}$ *Mamoodoes* is reckoned a *Rupee*. Yet to change *Mamoodoes* into *Rupees*, there is sometimes given 3, sometimes 8 or 10 *Mamoodoes* on the 100 *Rupees*, according to their Plenty or Scarcity, or as the Governor or *Banyans* please to advance the *Cambio*[1], which is called among them *Vattaw*[2]. In *Anno* 1663. was given 20 *Mam. per Cent.*

PICE[3], a sort of Copper-Mony current among the Poorer sort of People; of these, sometimes 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 19, to 24, make, or are reckoned to a *Mamoodoe*; therefore because they rise and fall, the Company's Accounts are kept in Book-rate *Pice, viz.* 32 to the *Mam.* and 80 *Pice* to the *Rupee*, for that without any reason the *Rupee* is by the Accomptant rated at $2\frac{1}{2}$ *Mam.* whereas if it were rated at *Mam.* $2\frac{1}{4}$ *per Rupee*, then in Book-rate the *Rupee* would fall to be 72 *Pice.*

Weights and Measures of Surat, Agra, *&c.*

The *Surat Maund*[4] was formerly 18 *Pice* to the *Sear* of 40, and made 33 *l. Averdupois:* At present it is 40 *Sear*, of 20 *Pice* the *Sear*, which is 37 *l.*

Roupies, and *Dynaes*: the *Pice* are heavy round pieces of brasse, 30 of them make one shilling; the *Mammoody* and *Roopee* are good silver, round, thick, and (after the *Saracenic* sort who hate Images in Coyne) cover'd with *Arabick* letters, naming the King and *Mahomet*; a *Mammoody* is our shilling, a *Roopee* two shillings and three pence, the *Dina* is gold worth thirty shillings; but *Spanish* Rialls, Pistolets, and *Persian* Larrees, Abussees, and *English* gold (each piece in *Persia* going for 26 shillings) goe here also." Elsewhere (p. 231) Herbert values the Mahmūdī at 8 pence. Sir T. Roe (i, 163 *n.*) values it at a shilling.

[1] Ital. *cambio*, "change, exchange."

[2] Gujarātī *vatāū*, Hind. *battā*, "agio, difference in exchange" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 72).

[3] Hind. *paisā*, of which 64 now go to a rupee. For the extraordinary variety of pice current in the early days of British rule, see Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, 36 (Yule, *Ibid.* 703). In 1696, according to Ovington (p. 219) "The Gold Moor, or Gold Roupie, is valued generally at 14 of Silver; and the Silver Roupie at Two Shillings Three Pence. Besides these they have foreign Coyns, but not in that Plenty; and Pice, which are made of Copper, sixty of which, sometimes two or three more or less, are valued at a Roupie. Lower than these, bitter Almonds here pass for money, about Sixty of which make a Pice." In 1711 Lockyer (*Account of Trade*, 262) says: "The Current Coins of *Surat* are Rupees and Pice; yet in Accounts they reckon Rupees, Ana's, and Pice, *viz.* 16 Pice to one Ana, and 4 Ana's to one Rupee."

[4] For the Maund and Sear (*Seer*, *Ser*) see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 563, 807. "The maund of India may as a *genus* be divided into four different species: 1. That of Bengal, containing 40 seers, and averaging about 80 lbs. avoir.;

The *Maund Pucka*[1] at *Agra* is double as much, where is also the *Maund Ecbarry*[2], which is 40 *Sear*, of 30 *Pice* to the *Sear*, whereby *Indico*, Silks, and other fine Goods are sold.

By the foresaid *Maund* of 20 *Pice* to the *Sear*, 40 *Sear* to the *Maund*, all sorts of Grain are sold, and other Goods of Weight, whereof 20 *Maunds* make a *Candy*[3].

Amber and *Coral*, 18 *Pice* weight goes to a *Sear*.

Measures of *Surat* are only Two;

The Lesser and Greater } *Coveld*[4].

The former of 27 Inches *English*, the latter of 36 Inches *English*: By the first are sold all things (except Broad-cloth, Velvet, and Sattin, which are sold *per English* Yard); by the other, the foresaid Goods in all other Places.

Goldsmiths and Jewellers Weights in Surat, *viz.*

Goldsmiths Weights.	*Jewel Weights.*
1 *Sear* is 35 *Tolaes*[5].	3 *Ruttees* is 1 *Val.*
1 *Pice* is 1 *Tola* $\frac{3}{4}$.	1 *Tank* is 24 *Rutt.*
1 *Tola* is 12 *Mass*[6].	1 *Rupee Oranshaw*[7], 64 $\frac{1}{2}$ *Rutt.*

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2. That of Central India (Malwa, Ajmeer, &c.) generally equal to 40 lbs. avoir., and containing 20 seers (so that the seer of this large portion of the continent assimilates to that of Bengal); 3. The maund of Guzerat and Bombay, equal to $\frac{1}{4}$ cwt. or 28 lbs.; and divided into 40 seers of a smaller grade; 4. The maund of Southern India, fixed by the Madras Government at 25 lbs. avoir. There are, however, many other varieties of maund, from 15 to 64 seers in weight, which it is unnecessary to particularize" (Prinsep, *Useful Tables*, 77).

[1] Hind. *pakkā*, "heavy," as contrasted with *kachhā*, "light" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 734).

[2] Akbar's maund of 34$\frac{3}{4}$ lbs. avoir. agreeing pretty well with that of Central and W. India (Prinsep, 77).

[3] A weight roughly equal to 500 lbs.: but varying much in different parts; Mahr. *khandī* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 155).

[4] Probably a misprint for *coveed*; Port. *covado*, "a cubit or ell" (*Ibid.* 268).

[5] Hind. *tolā*: the usual scale being 8 *rattī*=1 *māshā*: 12 *māshā*=1 *tolā* (*Ibid.* 928).

[6] Hind. *māshā*, a weight of varying capacity (*Ibid.* 777).

[7] Aurangzeb.

Goldsmiths Weights.

1 *Tola* is 32 *Valls*[1]
1 *Tola* is 2 *Gudjanas*[2].
1 *Tola* is 96 *Ruttees*[4].
1 *Tola* is 2 ¾ *Tanks*[5].
2 *Tolas* and 19 *Valls*; or 83 *Valls* make 1 *Ounce Troy*.

2 *Tol.* 6 *Val.* the Weight of a *Cruzado*[8].
2 *Tol.* 9 *Val.* the Weight of a *Dollar*.
9 *Tol.* 9 ¼, *Val.* the Weight of a *Chequeene*[9].
100 *Duchra*[10], 1 *Rupee*, an Imaginary Coin.
48 *Juttals*[11], 1 *Pagod*, an Imaginary Coin.

Jewel Weights.

1 *Miscall* is 1 *Tank* and 4 *Ruttees*.
8 *Ruttees* is 7 *Carracks*[3].
1 *Carrack*, 4 *Grains*.
20 *Vassael*[6], 1 *Rutt*.
3 *Tanks*, 1 *Tola*.
1 *Mangere*[7], 1 *Rutt*.
11 ½ *Vas*.

Note, That 3 Grains Gold, make one *Carrack*, Diamond-weight.

A *Venice* Ounce is nearest 1 *Tola* ¾: And 1 and ½ *Venice* Ounce, makes 1 Ounce *Troy*.

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[1] Mahr. *vāl*, Skt. *valla*, which is defined to be equal to 3 *raktikā* or *rattī*. Other authorities make 1 *gadiānun*=20 valla: 40 valla=1 *tolā* (Foster, *English Factories*, 1622–3, 154).

[2] Gujarātī *gadiānun*, Mahr. *gadiānā*, about 52 grains. At present in Surat 2 *gadiānā*=1 *tolā* (*Bombay Gaz.* ii, 208, 461).

[3] An obsolete form of *carat* (*New Eng. Dict.*).

[4] Hind. *rattī*, the seed of the *abrus precatorius*, each of which has been calculated to weigh 2·66 Troy grains (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 777). But naturally the standard is far from being uniform (Tavernier, ed. Ball, ii, 89).

[5] Skt. *tanka*. "Among the Marathas the Tank or Tānk is variously rated at 4 or 9 *māshas*, or as the same with a *tola*, or the 72nd part of a *pakka ser*" (Wilson, *Glossary*, *s.v.*).

[6] Not found in any text available. Mr Irvine suggests *bisvā*, *visvā*, one-twentieth.

[7] Tamil, Telugu, Malayālim, *manjādi*, *manjāli*, *mānchādi* defined by Wilson (*Gloss. s.v.*) to equal a carat or 4 grains avoirdupois. Another form of the word is Mangelin, which Kelly (*Universal Cambist*, i, 92) states to be equal to 6 English grains. The weight being based on that of a seed is variable (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 553).

[8] Port. *cruzado*, "marked with the sign of the cross." The new Crusado is worth 2*s.* 4*d.* (*New Eng. Dict. s.v.*).

[9] Sequin, Ital. *zecchino*, *cecchino* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 193).

[10] Hind. *dukrā*, one-fourth of a *paisa* (Wilson, *Gloss. s.v.*). In a letter of 1622 (Foster, *English Factories*, 1622–3, p. 28 f.) we have: "Pray advise us how many duckeryes goeth in account for a Mahmudi."

[11] Hind. *jītal*, a coin which seems to have been equal to a pice (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 457).

Coins, Weights, and Measures of Rajapore.

Imaginary Coins.

The *Pagod*[1] is 3 and ½ *Rupees.*
48 *Jattals* is 1 *Pagod.*
10 and ½ *Larees*[2], 1 *Pagod.*
Zeraphins[3] 2 ½, 1 *Old Dollar.*

Weights, &c.

The *Candy*[4] is 14 *Maunds Surat.*
4 *Maunds Rajapore*[5], 1 *Surat Maund.*
56 *Sear Rabag*[6], is 40 *Surat Sear.*
9 *Maunds Rabag*, is 8 *Maunds Rajapore.* And 8 *Maunds Raja*, is 6 *Maunds Surat.*

Coin and Measure in Rabag.

48 *Rues*[7] in *Rabag*, is 1 *Tucca.* The *Guzz*[9] is 28 Inches ⅘.
8 ½ *Tuccaes*[8] 1 *Pagod.* 5 *Guzz* is 4 Yards.

Coins and Weights in Goa.

Coins.

The Old St. *Thomas*[10], 16 *Tan.*
30 *Res.*
The New St. *Thomas*, 15 *Tan.*
15 *Bas.*
The *Pagod*, 15 *Tan.* less 96 *Bas.*

Weights.

1 *Baharr*[11] is 3 ½ *Kintal*[12].
1 *Kintal* is 4 *Arobel*[13], or *Rovel.*
1 *Arobel* is 32 *Rotolas*[14].
1 *Rotola* is 16 Ounc. or 1 *l. Averd.*
1 *Maund*[15] is 24 *Rotolas.*

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[1] The pagoda was coined both in gold and silver, and the value varied (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 653).

[2] The *lārī* took its name from Lār in Persia (*Ibid.* 506).

[3] Ar. *ashrafī*, a name applied to the Dīnār or Gold Mohur (*Ibid.* 974).

[4] Mahr. *khaṇḍī*, about 500 lbs. (*Ibid.* 155).

[5] See vol. i, 154. [6] Rāybāgh in Kolhapur District.

[7] Port. *réis*, of which about 400 went to a rupee (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 758).

[8] Hind. *takā* (*Ibid.* 940). [9] Hind. *gaz* (*Ibid.* 400).

[10] "There is yet [at Goa] another kind of golde called St Thomas, because Saint Thomas is figured thereon, and is worth about 7. and eight Tangas" (Linschoten, i, 243).

[11] Ar. *bahār*, Malayāl. *bhāram*, Skt. *bhāra*, "a load." The weight varied in different places (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 47 *b*).

[12] Port. *quintal*, Ar. *qintār*. "The quintall of Goa is 5 manas, and 8 larines, & the mana is 24 rotilos, so that the quintall of Goa is 128 rot. and every rot. is 16 ounces...of London weight 132 li. English..." (Fitch, in Hakluyt, iii, 335).

[13] Port. *arroba*, Ar. *ar-rub'* for *al-rub'*, "the quarter" (*Stanford Dict. s.v.*).

[14] Port. *arratel*, Ar. *ratl*, *ritl*, the Arabian pound (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 770).

[15] "They have likewise another wayght called Mao, which is a Hand [confusing Mahr. *māna* with Port. *mão*, *i.e.* Lat. *manus*], and is twelve pounds, with which they weigh Butter, Hony, Sugar, and all kind of wares to be solde by waight" (Linschoten, i, 245).

Coins.	*Weights.*
The *Venetian*[1], 18 *Tan.* 30 *Res.*	1 *Candy*[5] is 20 *Maunds.*
The *Cruzado* of Gold, 12 *Zeraphins.*	1 *Mark*[6] is 8 Ounces.
The *Zeraphin*, 5 *Tangoes*[2].	1 *Pipa*[7] is 4 Barrels.
The *Tango*, 5 *Vinteens*[3].	1 *Barrel* is 6 *Almoodaes.*
The *Vinteen*, 15 *Basrooks*[4],	1 *Almooda*[8] is 12 *Cannales.*
Whereof 75 make a *Tango.*	24 *l. Portugal* is 26 *English.*
And 60 *Rees* make a *Tango.*	

Coins, Weights, and Measures of Duccan.

The *Maund* or *Barkey*[9] of *Hubly* and *Carwar*, is 26 *l.* ½, *Averd.*	The *Sungar Pagod* is 8 *s.* 9 *d.*
The *Gunny*[10] of Pepper in *Hubly* is 12 *Maunds.*	The *Tipkee Pagods*, 4 *Rupees.*
The *Candy* in *Ellepore*[11] is 20 *Maunds*, of 26 *l.* ½ *per Maund.*	But in *Vattaw*[12] differs from 100 *Sungar*, to 118, and 123.
	The *Asmeloh Pagod* is 1 *per Cent.* less than the *Sungaree.*

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[1] "There is another kinde of gold money, which is called Venetianders: some of Venice, and some of Turkish coine, and are commonly 2. Pardawes Xeraphins" (Linschoten, i, 243), his editor remarking that these Sequins are called Shanar Cash by natives, who take the Doge's sceptre for a palm-tree, and the Doge for a Shanar about to climb it to extract the juice.

[2] "There is also a kinde of reckoning of money which is called Tangas, not that there is any such coined, but are so named only in telling, five Tangas is one Pardaw, or Xeraphin badde money" (*Ibid.* i, 241). "The silver money of Goa is *Perdos*, half *perdos*, *larins*, *tangues*, the last named worth 7 sols 6 deniers apiece, besides what comes from Spain, which is more at Goa, for there silver is one-third dearer than in Spain" (Pyrard de Laval, ii, 69). The word comes from Mahr. *ṭānk*, Turki *tanga* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 896).

[3] Ital. *venetiano*, Dutch *vintijn*, a sequin of Venice (see *Stanford Dict. s.v. venetiano*). "This kind of money is called *Basaruchi*, and 15 of these make a vinton of naughty mony, and 5 vintons make a tanga, and 4 vintenas make a tanga of base money" (Fitch, in Hakluyt, iii, 336). "At Goa the sceraphim is worth 240 Portugal *reas*, or about 16*d.* sterling; 2 *reas* make a *basaraco*, 15 *basaracos* a *vintin*, 42 *vintins* a *tanga*" (Grose, 2nd ed. i, 282).

[4] Port. *bazarucco*, probably Mahr. *bāzār rūka*, "market-money" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 121).

[5] See vol. ii, p. 129.

[6] "*Marco de ouro, ou de prata*, a mark, or eight ounces of gold or silver" (Vieyra, *Port. Dict. s.v.*: also see *New Eng. Dict. s.v.*).

[7] Port. *pipa*, Hind. *pīpā*, "a cask."

[8] Perhaps connected with Tamil *mudi*, *muri*, "a bunch or bundle." Mr Irvine suggests Port. *amoedada* "coined."

[9] Perhaps the "great" (Hind. *barkā*) maund. Lockyer (*Trade in India*, 271) gives the Kārwār weights: 1 seer=8 ounces 19 dwt. Troy: 42 seer= 1 Maund: 20 maund=1 Candy of about 514 lbs. 14 oz.

[10] "A sack," Hind. Mahr. *gon*, *goṇī* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 403).

[11] Yellapur in N. Kanara District: Lat. 14° 58′ N.: Long. 74° 45′ E.

[12] See vol. ii, p. 126.

Coins and Weights of Bombaim.

3 *Larees*[1] is 1 *Zeraphin.*
80 *Raies*[2] 1 *Laree.*
1 *Pice* is 10 *Raies.*
The Raies *are Imaginary.*
16 *Bugerookes* make 1 Piece of Eight[3].

The Company's Mark upon all their Goods, Bales, and Parcels[4].

The Company's *Rupee*, equal to the *Surat*, called *Paxdro*[5].
The latter inferior by 4 *Pice* each.
28 *l.* is a *Maund.*
15 *Pice* to the *Sear.*
The Country Weight is a *Rotola*, 27 making a *Maund.*
A *Candy* is 20 *Maund.*
100 *Mooras*[6], 154 ¼ *Candies.*
8 *Parras*[7] is a *Candy.*
12 and ½ *Parras* is a *Moora.*
20 *Addalins*[8] is a *Parra.*

Calicut.

N.B. *The Weights are the same as at* Cocheen *and* Quilom.
The Coins are specified in its History, pag. 55.
Tarrs[9] *are the peculiar Coin, the rest are common to* India.

Cocheen.

A *Kental* 128 *Rotulas.*
120 *Rotulas* is 112 *l. English.* 7 *per Cent.* difference.
The *Candy* 20 *Maunds*; 25 *l. per Maund.*

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[1] See vol. ii, p. 129.

[2] Port. *real*, pl. *réis* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 758).

[3] This must be a mistake for "pice."

[4] "The last transaction of the Society of Adventurers, adopting their own language, was to order 'that the goodes shipped by the Companie, and the Caskes, shall be marked with this generall marke, as in the margent, and that an iron be prepared, wch shal make the saide marke'" (Bruce, *Annals*, i, 133). Various marks of this kind are illustrated by Birdwood (*Report*, 72 ff.): and see Foster, *Letters*, ii, 206.

[5] Read *Pax Deo.* The silver rupee of 1667 has the inscription, obverse, *Mon. Bombay. Anglic. Regims. A°* 7°: around, *A. Deo. Pax. & Incrementum.* Another, undated, but issued soon after; obverse, a shield of arms between two wreaths; reverse, in centre, "Pax Deo" within a beaded circle: around, "Moneta Bombaiensis" (Thurston, *H. of the Coinage of the Territories of the E. I. Co. in the Indian Peninsula* (1890), p. 21. The coin is figured in Pl. xviii. Nos. 4, 5).

[6] Mahr. *muḍā*, "a package of grain etc." (Yule, *Ibid.* 583).

[7] Malayāl. *para*, the common grain measure of Malabar, about 40 lbs. avoir. (Wilson, *Gloss. s.v.*).

[8] This perhaps represents Karn. *addaṇa*, a measure equal to about half a pint (*Ibid.*).

[9] See vol. i, 143.

Quilom.

The *Bahar* is 20 *Maunds*; 24 *l. Port.* or 26 *l. English*, is the *Maund*.

Fort St. George, Mechlapatan, *&c.*

Gold of { 2 *Matts*[1] fine, 10 *Pagods* w^{t}, is worth } *Pagods* 2 $\frac{1}{4}$	The Standard,
3 ——— 3 $\frac{3}{8}$	Is 8 *Matts*, and $\frac{5}{8}$ *Matts* Fine:
3 $\frac{1}{2}$ ——— 4	Our *English* 20 *s.* is 9 and
4 ——— 4 $\frac{1}{2}$	more. *Fanams* is 4 $\frac{1}{4}$ *Mats*
4 $\frac{1}{2}$ ——— 5 $\frac{1}{2}$	fine.
5 ——— 5 $\frac{3}{4}$	9 *Pagods* weight make 1 Ounce
5 $\frac{1}{2}$ ——— 6 $\frac{1}{4}$	*Troy*.
6 ——— 6 $\frac{3}{4}$	16 *Pagods* weight of Silver, is
6 $\frac{1}{4}$ ——— 7 $\frac{1}{8}$	1 *Pagod* weight of Gold.
6 $\frac{1}{2}$ ——— 7 $\frac{1}{2}$	$\frac{1}{2}$ *Pagod* in 1000 is allowed for
7 ——— 8	loss in Mint.
7 $\frac{1}{2}$ ——— 8 $\frac{1}{2}$	5 *Fanams* in 1000.
7 $\frac{3}{4}$ ——— 8 $\frac{3}{4}$	8 *Pagods* is just weight of 1 Piece
8 ——— 9 $\frac{1}{8}$	of Eight.
8 $\frac{1}{4}$ ——— 9 $\frac{1}{2}$	
And so on.	The Accounts are kept in *Pagods* and *Fanams*, at 32 *Fanams* to a *Pagod*, and *Cash*, 6 whereof make a *Fanam*.
Note, That a *Pagod* touch is 8 $\frac{5}{8}$ *Matts* fine.	There is likewise a double *Fanam* current at *Porto Nova*.
Note, 1 *Pagod* is $\frac{1}{8}$ weight of 1 *Dollar*.	Eight shillings make one *Pagod*; 32 *Fanams* 1 *Pagod*; every *Fanam* 3 *d.* and 6 *Cash* a *Fanam*.

[1] Tamil *māttu* "touch of gold" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 563). Bowrey (p. 114) gives the "Currant Coynes in this Kingdome Fort St George," as follows:

	lb.	*s.*	*d.*
"New Pagods here coyned passe all the kingdome over at the Rate of	00	08	00
Fanam of gold at	00	00	03
Cash made of coppar 80 make one fanam ...	00	00	03
Royals of 8 are worth	00	05	00
Rupees are worth	00	02	03$\frac{1}{2}$

"According to the old Madras monetary system, prevailing until 1818, 42 fanams went to one star pagoda, and a Madras silver fanam was therefore worth about 2*d*." (*Madras Man. Adm.* iii, 294).

Coins and Weights of Siam, Bantam, *&c.*

SIAM[1].

1000 *Couries* is 1 *Miam.*
2 *Foads* is 1 *Miam*, or *Mass*[2].
4 *Miams* is 1 *Pecul.*
80 *Pecul* is 1 *Cattee.*
1 *Cattee* is 100 *Rupees.*
500 *Cattees* is 1 *Hobb*[3], or *Pecul*; or nearest 130 *l. English.*

Note, 1 *Pecul Macau* is a tenth part more than 1 *Hobb Siam.*

The *Pecul* is 1 *Rupee* $\frac{1}{4}$.
4 *Mass* is 1 *Pecul.*
15 *Pecul* is 18 $\frac{3}{4}$ *Rupees.*

BANTAM.

The *Bahar Banda* is 100 *Cattees*, and each *Cattee* 6 *l.* is 600 *l.* Neat.
The *Bahar Malaga* is 200 *Cattees*, each *Cattee* 2 *l.* is 400 *l.*
So that 1 *Cattee Banda*, makes 3 *Cattees Malaga*; and 300 *Cattees Malaga* make 100 *Bahar Banda.*
22 *Cattees Banda*, make 1 *Pecul China*, of 132 *l.*
4 *Pecul* and 12 *Cattees Malaga*, make a *Bahar Banda.*
66$\frac{2}{3}$ *Cattees Banda*, make 1 *Bahar Malaga.*

All Commodities and Merchandizes in *Macassar*, by the *Banda Datchin*[4], or Weight, and from thence, are to be reduced to their proper Weight.

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[1] According to De la Loubere (*Hist. Rel. Kingdom of Siam*, 164) "The *Pie* is worth Fifty *Catis*. The *Cati* is worth Twenty Teils. The Teil four *Tticals*. The *Tical* is a Silver Coin, and is worth Four Mayons, and it is the weight of half an Ounce, by reason of which the *Cati* weighs two pounds and a half. The *Mayon* is a Silver Coin, and is worth two *Fouangs*. The *Fouang* is also a Silver Money, and is worth Four *Payes*. The *Paye* is not a Coin, and it is worth two *Clams*...all these names are not *Siamese*, but common among the *Europeans* which are at *Siam*." Milburn (*Or. Comm.* ii, 440) gives the Siam coins: 800 cowries = 1 fouang, called by the natives phuani: 2 fouang = 1 miam or mace: 4 miam = 1 tical or baat: 4 ticals = 1 tale or tamluni. Crawfurd (*Descript. Dict.* 388) gives bat, which is known to Europeans as the tical, the standard Siamese coin.

[2] Jav. and Malay *mās*: see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 530.

[3] Mr Skeat writes that this word is certainly not Malay. He suggests Danish *hob*, Dutch *hoop*, "a heap," the influence of the Danes in Siam having been powerful for a long time. Yule (*Hobson-Jobson*, 175) fixes the catty at 1$\frac{1}{3}$ lb. avoird. or 625 grammes. The pecul (Malay *pikul*, "a man's load") is 133$\frac{1}{3}$ lb. avoird. (*Ibid.* 690).

[4] The steelyard employed in China and the Archipelago, a word of doubtful origin: see Yule, *Ibid.* 298.

Pepper is sold by the *Ganton*[1], of which 225 make a *Bahar Banda.*

The *Quoin*[2], which is the Rice-measure, 40 Great *Gantons*, each *Ganton* weighs 90 *l. English*, which makes the *Quoin* 3600 *l.*

A Lesser *Ganton* there is, whereof 20 makes 1 of the Greater.

Tortois-shell is bought by the *Bahar Malaga*, which is 200 *Cattees*, weighed by the *Banda Datchin.*

1 *Cattee Banda* is 4 *Catt. China*, which is 21 Ounces *Averdupois.*
1 *Cattee Malaga*, 1 ½ *China.*

In *Macassar* {
The *Mass*[3] is 2 *s.* 10 *d.* $\frac{2}{7}$.
4 *Cappans*[4] is 1 *Mass.*
7 *Cappans* is 1 *Dollar* of 5 *s.*

ACHEEN.

COINS.

1152 *Cash* is 1 *Mass*, 16 *Mass* is 1 *Tale*, 1 *Tale* is *Sear*, or 18 *s.* 1 *Mass* is ½ *Rupee*, and 32 *Cash* is 1 *Pice*[5].

Ditto WEIGHTS.

1 *Bahar* is 10 ½ *Maunds Surat*; 200 *Cattees* is 1 *Bahar.*
1 *Cattee* is 29 Ounces; 1 *Bahar* is 360 *l. English.*

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[1] According to Crawfurd (*Descript. Dict.* 446) 4 Chupak, measured by the shell of a coco-nut or joint of a bamboo, make a gantang. According to Milburn (*Or. Comm.* ii, 354) in the early part of the 19th century, "pepper is sold by the timbang, which is equal to half a Chinese pecul, or 62½ Dutch lbs.: 3 peculs are a small bahar, and 4½ peculs the great bahar." The ganton or gantang seems to have held about a gallon (Yule, *Ibid.* 364). The relative values of the two kinds of ganton is corroborated by Milburn (ii, 409).

[2] The koyan or quoyane contained 800 gantang, and was therefore about two tons (Crawfurd, 446: Foster, *Letters*, iii, 138, 320).

[3] According to Milburn (*Or. Comm.* ii, 409), at the beginning of last century accounts were kept at Macassar in rix-dollars and stivers. "They have a kind of mace, 7 of which go to a dollar."

[4] Mr Skeat identifies this with the *Kobang* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 490). He thinks that the corruption came about under Dutch influence, the word being written in Dutch *cœpang* or *cœppan*, the *œ* representing the Malay *ŭ* sound: and the change from *œ* to *a* would be easy. "It was of varying values, though, as a rule, at Malacca from 8 to 10 went to the dollar. If 7 went to the dollar it might have been an extra heavy *Kupang*" (see Yule, *Ibid.* 530).

[5] Writing of Achin, Lockyer (p. 42) says: "In Money, 1400 to 1600 Cash are a Mace, or 15*d. English*, as the Company formerly reckon'd it. A Quarter of a Mace is called a Pollam or Copong, Imaginary. 16 Mace is one Tale. The Tale is Imaginary likewise, as a Pound in *England*, and at 15*d. per* Mace, amounts to the same exactly."

1 *Cattee* is 70 *Tolas*, *Surat*.
1 *Buncal* Gold Weight, is *Tola's* 3, 18 *Vals*.
20 *Buncals* is 1 *Cattee* of Gold[1].

Note, That if the following Goods from *Acheen* hold out the following Rates, the Factor employed is no farther responsible.

Tin for 1 *Bahar Maunds*	10	18 *Sear*.
Pepper, 1 *Bahar Maunds*	9	20
Benzoin[2], 1 *Bahar Maunds*	9	20
Sapan[3] Wood, 1 *Bah. Maunds*	9	00
Dammar[4], 1 *Bahar Maunds*	9	00
Patch Leaf[5], 1 *Bahar Maunds*	7	20

Quedah[6] *and* Jahore[7].

COINS[8].

160 *Tares* is a *Mass*; 16 *Mass* is a *Tale*; 1 *Tale* is 40 *Rupees*, or 4 *l.* 10 *s.* at which Rate 1 *Mass* is 2 ½ *Rupees*; and 1 *Tarr* is 1 ⅛.

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[1] Milburn (ii, 328) gives the weights as follows: 20 buncal = 1 catty, or 2 lbs. 1 oz. 13 dr. avoird.; 200 catty = 1 bahar, or 422 lbs. 15 oz. avoird. For gold weight, 5 tale = 1 buncal: 20 buncal = 1 catty. "The true standard of a buncal is 80 mace, though the merchants alter it at their pleasure...from this cause the catty varies from 265 to 280 pagodas." Wilkinson (*Malay Dict. s.v.*) gives "*bungkal*, *bongkal*, a measure of weight (832 grains): especially for precious metals; a *tahil* or 16 *mayam*, or, approximately, 1⅓ oz."

[2] Benjamin or benzoin, incense derived from the resin of the *Styrax benzoin* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 86).

[3] The wood of the *Caesalpina sappan*, the Brazil-wood of medieval commerce (*Ibid.* 794).

[4] Various kinds of resin; see vol. i, 302.

[5] Patchouli (*Ibid.* 683).

[6] Quedda, a port and small kingdom on the W. Coast of the Malay Peninsula, tributary to Siam (Crawfurd, *Descriptive Dict.* 361).

[7] The State embracing the S. end of the Peninsula, usually called Johor (*Ibid.* 192).

[8] Of the Quedda coinage Bowrey (281 f.) writes: "The Coyne is good gold, and in small pieces and are called Copans, 3 of value one Royall of 8 or 4*s.* 6*d.* English. 4 Copans is one Mace, 16 Mace is one Taile. Noe other Coyned Moneys in this Kingdom Save Small Coppar Moneys tinned over called Tarra, 96 of which make one Copan." This Tare or Tarra must not be confounded with that in vol. i, 143. "The small coins of Palembang, Achin, Bantam, and Queda are of tin. Those of the latter place go by the name of tra, which is, however, only the wood 'stamp' or 'impression'" (Crawfurd, *Descript. Dict.* 283 f.).

Ditto WEIGHTS.

200 *Cattees* is 1 *Bahar*; 1 *Bahar* is 10 ½ *Maunds Surat*; so 1 *Cattee* is 2 $\frac{1}{10}$ *Sear*.

The *Quedah Baharr* of Tin holds out more than the *Acheen Bahar*, about 10 *Sear per Bahar*.

MALLACCA.

Coins.

1 *Cruzado* is 6 *Tangoes*.
1 *Tango*, 10 *Vinteens*.
1 *Vinteen*, 20 *Lashees*[1].

Weights.

1 *Bahar* is 14 *Roves*[2].
1 *Rove*, 32 Pounds.
The *Cattee*, 32 Ounces.
1 *Ganto*[3], 2 *Cannales* of *Goa*.

MANILLA.

Coins.

The *Royal of Eight* is 8 *Tominians*[4].
20 *Barillioes* is 1 *Tomin*.
34 *Maravidies* to the *Tomin*.

Weights.

The *Rove*, or *Aroba*, is 26 *l*.
The *Pico* is 140 *l*.
100 *Cattee* is a *Pecul*.

MACHAWO.

Coins.

Formerly the Course *Dollar* Silver, being in the Year 1657, and since, in Esteem, was current with them; but since

Weights.

1 *Pecul* the *Datchin* Weight, is 4 *Maunds Surat*.
1 *Pecul* is 100 *Cattees*, which is nearest 132 *l*. *Averdupois*.

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[1] Mr Skeat believes that this is a misprint for "caixes," that is to say "cash"—"... in Sunda there is no other kind of money then certaine copper mynt called Caixa, of the bignis of a Hollander doite, but not half so thicke, in the middle whereof is a hole to hang it on a string" (Linschoten, i, 113).

[2] Arroba, see vol. ii, p. 129.

[3] Ganton, see vol. ii, p. 134.

[4] Span. *tomin*, "the third part of a drachm; a real" (*Stanford Dict. s.v.*), quoting "fiue *Tomynes*, that is, fiue Royals of plate, which is just two shillings and six pence" (Hakluyt, iii, 454). According to Kelly (*Universal Cambist*, i, 109) the accounts early in the last century were kept in Dollars or Pesos of 8 Reals, the Real being divided into 34 Maravedis. The standard of weight was the Mexican Dollar, one ounce, of which 16 made a pound. 8 ounces = 1 Mark: 9 ounces 1 Punto: 10 ounces 1 Tale: 11 ounces one Tale of silk: 22 ounces = 1 Catty. Also see Milburn, *Or. Comm.* ii, 430. The Maravedi, Span. "a small money of account and a copper coin of Spain, equal to about a farthing English. The name is derived from that of a Moorish gold coin weighing about 60 grains, struck at Cordova by the dynasty of the Al-Moravides or Marabouts" (*Stanford Dict. s.v.*).

Coins.

they have coined *Dollars* of their own of an exquisite Fineness, and buy our Goods with their *Dollars*, and receive them again for what Goods we buy; insomuch that all the *Dollars* the King *Ferdinando*, &c. ships, they brought back again, to their great Loss.

1 *Cattee* is nearest 16 *Taies*[1].

1 *Teen*[2] is 10 *Mass*.

1 *Mass* in Silver is 10 *Quandreens*.

1 *Quandreen* is 10 *Cash*.

733 *Cash* makes one *Royal*.

1 *Grain English* Weight is 2 *Cash*.

Weights.

1 *Cattee* is nearest 21 Ounces *Averdupois*.

The *Maund* 27 $\frac{2}{3}$ *Surat Sear*, of which 40 makes 37 *l. Averdupois*.

BUSSORA.

Coins.

The Old *Royal*.

Embraems[3].

Weights.

The *Maund* is 24 *l.* or 28 *Sear*[4].

1 *Muckee*[5] 4 *Maunds Surat*.

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[1] The ordinary currency consists of Tales, Mace, Candarines, and Cash—the Tale being divided into 10 Mace, 100 Candarines, or 1000 Cash (Kelly, i, 66). Also see Milburn, ii, 470 f. Quandreen is from Malay *kandūri*, a term formerly applied to one-hundredth of the Chinese ounce or weight, known as Tahil or Tael (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 155). The weights, as given by Milburn (ii, 472) are: 16 tale = 1 Catty, or 1$\frac{1}{3}$ lb.: 100 Catty = 1 Pecul, or 133$\frac{1}{3}$ lb.

[2] With regard to this obscure word Mr W. Foster writes: "At first I was inclined to suspect a misprint, but in a letter of 1635, describing a voyage to Macao the year before, I find *teen* used twice for *taels* (plural). I have consulted Sir Ernest Satow, but he cannot suggest a Chinese word (*Liang* is what they use for *tael*). Mr D. Ferguson threw out a conjecture, which may furnish a clue, *viz.* that as Portuguese words ending in *-n* take *-s* for the plural, in the same way as those ending in *l*, a new singular *taen* may have been made at Macao from the familiar *taeis*, as the plural formed a singular of their own—*taye*."

[3] Probably *Ibrāhīmī*, "of Abraham." Fryer elsewhere (Letter v, chap. xiv) speaks of the "Turkish Abrahmee" as inferior in value to the "Golden Venetian."

[4] Milburn (i, 121) gives the Bussora weights: 24 Vakia = 1 Maund Ateree, or 25$\frac{1}{2}$ lbs. avoir.: 76 Vakia = 1 Maund Sophy or 90$\frac{1}{4}$ lbs.: 117 Vakia = 1 Cutra or 138 lbs. 14 oz.

[5] Prof. Browne suggests *Makkī* = "of Mecca." "Mertigat" in the first line next page he cannot identify.

Coins.

The *Laree*[1] 5 $\frac{3}{4}$ make 1 *Royal.*
Abassees[2] turn to Loss.
5 *Fluce*[3] is 1 *Parrow*[4].
6 *Parrows*, 1 *Shahee*[5].
4 $\frac{1}{2}$ *Shahees*, 1 *Abassee.*
3 $\frac{1}{2}$ *Abassees*, 1 *Royal.*
2 *Mamod.* 1 *Abassee.*
2 *Royals*, 1 *Chequeen.*

Weights.

1 *Mertigat*, 1 $\frac{1}{2}$ is a *Surat Tola.*
1 *Miscal*, 12 *Valls*, and $\frac{1}{2}$ *Ruttee.*

The Measure lacks little of an *English* Yard.

MÆCHA.

Coins.

The *Royal.*
The *Ebraim* 1 $\frac{7}{8}$ is 1 *Royal.*
The *Cabeer*[6] 80 is 1 *Royal.*
2 *Royals* accounted a *Chequeen.*

Weights.

The *Bahar* 15 *Ferasilahs*[7] of 30 *l.*
The *Ferasilah* is 10 *Maunds* of that place.
The *Maund* is
The *Ferasilah* is 27 *l. Rottulas* 30.
The *Rottula* is 15 *Vachia.*
The *Vachia*[8] is 1 Ounce.
The *Marbat* or *Catla*[9] is 7 $\frac{1}{2}$ *Ferasilahs.*
Indico is sold by this Weight.

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[1] Pers. *lārī*, worth about one shilling (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 506).

[2] Pers. *'abbāsī*, which Herbert (p. 231) values at sixteen pence.

[3] Ar. *fulūs*, pl. of *fals*, which Herbert (*Ibid.*) quotes 10 to a Cozbeg or half-penny.

[4] Pers. *pārah.*

[5] Pers. *shāhī*, "of the King." Milburn (i, 121) gives the Bussora coinage: 10 floose = 1 danim: 10 danim = 1 mamoody: 100 mamoody = 1 thomand, or about Rs. 15. Steel (*First Letter Book*, 462) reckons the Shāhī at 4*d.* which agrees with the estimates of Herbert and Fryer (Sir T. Roe, ii, 462 *n.*). For these coins see also Foster, *Letters*, iii, 176.

[6] Possibly Pers. *kabīr*, "great": but Prof. Browne does not know its use in this sense.

[7] Ar. *fārsala*, a weight of about 20 or 30 pounds (Yule, *Ibid.* 358).

[8] Ar. *waqīyat.*

[9] These words Prof. Browne is unable to identify.

Weights in Aleppo.

A *Quintal*[1] 480 Pound *English*.
A *Churle*[2], 130.
A *Rottolo*, 4.

PERSIA.

Coins.

10 *Cosbeagues*[3] is 1 *Shahee*; 4 *Shahees* is 1 *Abassee*[4], or 16 *d.*; 50 *Abass.* 1 *Thomand*[5]; 3 *Shahees is* 1 *Mam. Surat*; 2 *Shahees* is 1 *Mamood. Persia*; 6 ¾ *Sha.* or 67 ½ *Cosb.* is 1 *Rupee.*

200 *Shahees* is 1 *Thom.* or 3 *l.* 6 *s.* 8 *d.* 2 ½ *Sha.* is 1 *Larree*, or 10 *d.*

Weights.

1 *Maund Shaw*[6] is 12 *l.* ½; 1 *Maund Cannala* is 9 *l.* ⅜, being a Wine-Weight; 1 *Maund Taberez* is nearest 6 *l.* ½; 5 *Maunds Taberez* is 33 *l.*

400 *Drachms* is 1 *Maund Shaw.*
200 1 *Maund Taberez.*
300 1 *Maund Cannah.*

2 ½ *Miscals*[7] is 1 *Surat Tola.*

Measures.

37 ½ Inches, 1 *Guz* for Cloath, *&c.*

27 Inches, 1 *Guz* for Carpets, Silk, Fine Stuff, *&c.*

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[1] See vol. ii, p. 129.

[2] Span. *churla*, *churlo*, "a bag of cinnamon," a weight of which 3½ make a bahar (*Stanford Dict. s.v.*). It was specially used in India for weighing indigo (Foster, *English Factories*, 1618–1621, p. 353).

[3] Pers. *ghāzbegī*, on which see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 389. Fryer also uses the forms *Gosbeck*, *Goss*, *Gosbege*.

[4] For the *shāhī* and *'abbātī* see vol. ii, p. 138.

[5] Tumān (*Ibid.* 928).

[6] *shāhī*, "royal." "...theare maund shaw, which beinge 12½ pound haberdepose" (Foster, *English Factories*, 1622–3, p. 25). "Two sorts of weights are used in Persia, the Batman of Cherray, and the Batman of Tauris," the latter half the weight of the former, or 6·34 lb. avoirdupois" (Kelly, *Universal Cambist*, i, 278). At the present day at Ispahan everything is sold by the Shah maund of 13¾ lbs.: but in Shiraz by the Tabriz maund of 7 lbs. (Wills, *Land of the Lion and Sun*, 220). "Cannala," as Mr Irvine suggests, is probably a misprint for the word represented by "Cannah" a little further down; and both represent "Caunah," Pers. *Khāna*, ? "a house" weight.

[7] Ar. *misqāl*, about 73 grains (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 568). Wills (*Ibid.* 220 *n.*) says it is now one-sixth of our ounce.

Coins of Mosambique.

1 *Cruzado* is 4 *Testoones.*
1 *Roy of* $\frac{8}{8}$ is 5 *Testoones.*

Elephants Teeth.

Elephants Teeth of *Mozambique*, are bought *per* Weight[1], whereof are three sorts, *viz.*
Muyn, such are the greatest, free from Flaws.
Muyda, which are the lesser, or the great ones with Flaws.
Sera, the least, or worst sort.

The Weights by which they are bought, are *Baharrs* and *Frasslees*; each *Baharr* 20 *Frasslees*, each *Frasslee* 12 *l.* and they call the *Baharrs Gross.*
Of *Muyne*, $\frac{1}{2}$ *Baharr* of 20 *Frasslees*, makes 1 *Baharr Gross.*
Of *Muyda* and *Muyn* they hold equal Price, in regard that though the Teeth of *Muyn* be bigger than the other, yet the *Muyda* giving more Weight, they balance Account.
Formerly they have been worth 260, 270, 280 *Cruz*, *per Baharr Gross.*
Of *Sera*, the current Price was 150, or 160, and rarely 180 *Cruz*, *per Bahar Gross.*

In *Surat* are three distinctions of Elephants Teeth: All over 16 *Sear* sell at 40 *Sear* to the *Maund*; from 10 to 16, at 60 *Sear* to the *Maund*; from 10 *Sear* and under, 80 *Sear* allowed to the *Maund.*

Tortoise-shell.

When one Head (as they call it) which is more properly an entire Body, weighs 1 *l.* $\frac{1}{2}$, or 2 *l.* 'tis worth 30 or 36 *Cruz. per Frasslee.*

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[1] "Elephants' teeth are of different prices, according to their goodness: the small round teeth which are sound are worth 100 rupees per maund, and those best esteemed, the hollow of them being little worth" (Foster, *Letters*, ii, 181: and see Milburn, i, 62). Prof. Browne is unable to trace the words *muyn*, *muyda*, *sera*. He thinks they are not Arabic, unless *sera*, by an extraordinary corruption, represents *saghīr*, "small."

Directions for Knowledge of *Bezoar-stones*, &c.

BEZOAR[1].

THE Monkey *Bezoars* which are long, are the best; those that are rough prove commonly faulty, breaking with Stones in the middle: Others in form of Tares, somewhat flat, which break in smaller Stones in the middle, are better than the rough ones.

Bezoar is tried sundry ways[2]: As the rubbing Chalk upon a Paper, then rubbing the Stone hard upon the Chalk, if it leave an Olive-Colour it is good. Also touch any with a Red-hot Iron, which you suspect because their Colour is lighter than ordinarily they use to be, and if they fry like Resin or Wax, they are naught. Sometimes they are tried by putting them into clear Water, and if there arise upon them small white Bubbles, they are good, and if none, they are doubtful. The use of the Hot Iron is esteemed infallible.

MOSK.

It is best to buy it in the Cod, for so it will be preserved; that which openeth with a bright *Mosk* Colour is the best, and will yield *per Ounce.* When taken out of the Cod, if a little being chawed, and rubbed with a Knife on clean Paper, do look smooth, bright, or yellowish, it is probably good, but if the Colour be as it were mixed with Gravel, it is bad. The Goodness is best discerned *per* Scent[3].

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[1] For bezoar (Pers. *pādzahr*, *pāzahr*, "expelling poison") see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 90; and for its virtues Burton, *Anatomy*, ii, 286: Tavernier, ed. Ball, ii, 146 ff.: Linschoten, ii, 142 ff.

[2] Tavernier (ed. Ball, ii, 147) describing the fraudulent composition of some bezoar, writes: "One can detect this fraud easily by two methods. The first by weighing the bezoar and placing it to steep for some time in lukewarm water; if the water does not change its colour, and if the bezoar does not lose weight, it has not been adulterated. The other means is to touch the bezoar with a pointed hot iron: if the iron enters it and makes it fry, it is a sign that it is a mixture, and that it is non-genuine." Ives (*Voyage*, 44) says that "Don *Diego's* method of chusing Bezoar, was to rub it on wood-ashes held in the hand; if good, it left a faint green colour behind."

[3] "The Chinaes are very deceitfull in selling of Mosseliat or Muske, for they falsify it very much, sometimes with Oxen and Cowes livers, dried and beaten to powder, and so mixed with the Mosseliat, as it is dayly found by experience in searching of it" (Linschoten, ii, 95); also see Tavernier, ed. Ball, ii, 143 ff.: Barbosa, 186 f.

AMBERGREECE[1].

The Grey is best; for Trial thereof, if a little be chewed, and yield an odoriferous Fragor, feeling in substance like Bees-Wax, then it is good, otherwise not.

The Names of Precious Stones of the *East.*

A Diamond.	*Agat*[5].
Ruby.	*Splen*[6].
Saphire.	*Jasper.*
Emerald.	*Lapis Lazuli.*
Topaz.	*Opal.*
Hyacinth.	*Vermillion.*
Amethist.	*Clystropie*[7].
Gurnett[2].	*Cornelian.*
Chrysolite[3].	*Onix.*
Turkois[4].	*Bezoar.*

The DIAMOND

IS the hardest, and when Cut, the most beautiful of all Stones; in knowledg whereof there is great difficulty, having a Crust on them before they are Cut; therefore Caution is to be used in buying them, before-hand to make a Patern in Lead: Their Waters are White, Brown, Yellow, Blue, Green, and Reddish;

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[1] See Tavernier, ed. Ball, ii, 138 ff. : Linschoten, ii, 92 ff.

[2] Garnet. "...the Iacinth, Granades, and Robasses are likewise certain kinds of Rubies, but little esteemed, the Indians call them the yellow and carnation Rubies, and so foorth, according to their colour. These Iacinthes, Granadoes, and Robasses, are in so great numbers in Cananor, Calecut, and Cambaia, that they are to sell in everie Market..." (Linschoten, ii, 140).

[3] "A name formerly given to several different gems of a green colour, such as zircon, tourmaline, topaz, and apatite. Since about 1790 restricted to the precious olivine, a silicate of magnesia and iron found in lava" (*New Eng. Dict. s.v.*). "Chrisolites and Æmatistes are many in the Island of Seylon, Cambaia, and Ballagatte" (Linschoten, ii, 141).

[4] See Tavernier, ed. Ball, ii, 103 f.

[5] For the Indian Agates, see Watt, *Econ. Dict.* ii, 171.

[6] Perhaps a misprint for Sphene, a semi-transparent, adamantine, or resinous crystal: yellow, brown, or green in colour (*Ency. Brit.*[11] xxv, 646).

[7] Perhaps for cryptolite, acicular crystals, embedded in apatite: transparent: in colour pale, wine-yellow (*Ibid.* xviii, 692).

whereof take notice, rating them according to their Waters: In our Climate the perfect White Water is most esteemed.

Rough, Brute, or Uncut Stones, are in Value half the Price of Cut, or Polished Stones.

Neither the Thick nor too Thin in Substance is best; a Thick Stone, which is high and narrow Table, not making a shew answerable to its Weight, must be valued at less than that which is well spread, hath its Corners perfect, and a pure White Water: Without Spots or Foulness, is called a *Paragon*-stone[1], and in full Perfection.

Uncut Stones are distinguished into two sorts, Thick or Pointed, which are called *Naife*[2]-stones, and Flat Stones: The Flat Stones are to be cut into Roses or Thin Stones, the *Naife* into Thick Stones; and those Rough Stones which will bear a good shape, without least diminishing in cutting, are in best Esteem.

The Names of Rough Stones, according to their Forms and Substance.

A Point.

An ½ Point.

A Thick Stone.

An ½ Ground Stone.

A Thin Stone.

A Rose[3] Stone, if round; if long, a Fossel.

A Naife.

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[1] This term for a perfect diamond is now applied to those weighing more than a hundred carats (*New Eng. Dict. s.v.*).

[2] Fr. *naïf.* "In this Roca Velha [rocha vella, 'old rock'] there are diamonds found that are called Nayfes ready cut, which are naturall, and are more esteemed then the rest, especially by the Indians themselves" (Linschoten, ii, 137).

[3] "The rose cut is given to stones which have too little depth to be cut as brilliants: it has the whole upper curved surfaces covered with equilateral triangles" (*Ency. Brit.*[9] vii, 165). It has been suggested that "fossel" represents "faucet," "a faceted stone" (*New Eng. Dict. s.v.*).

The Rough Diamonds that seem Greenest, prove of a good Water when cut; and those that seem White when rough, prove often Bluish being cut.

Care is to be taken likewise in Choice of Rough Diamonds, to avoid those that have Veins, for they will never cut well, seeming as if they were filed with a rough File.

For vending, Stones of six Grains and under, to one and a half, are best[1].

For Trial of a Diamond, take a Pointed Diamond, such as Glaziers use, try it on any Stone but a Diamond, and it will cut the same.

The Diamond that is Sandy, or hath any Foulness in it, or is of a Blue, Brown, or Yellow Water, is not worth half the Price of a perfect Stone of a White Water.

For cutting of Diamonds, you must never mould any Diamond in Sand or Cuttle-bone, but you must use the second Lead to make a Patern of, because the first will come somewhat less than the other.

Never cast it off but of the perfect Lead; for if you should cast it with Tin, it being the lighter Metal, you may wrong your Judgment thereby, but in Lead you will find the Experiment to be good; *viz.*

Take the Mould of the Stone you would buy, which having moulded, cast it off in perfect Lead, then make a Patern of it; but before you go about to make a Patern (of the Stone you would cut) weigh the Lead, and set down the Weight in a Piece of Paper; then form the Piece of Lead to what fashion you think best and most advantagious to the Stone; then re-weigh the Lead so formed, and setting down the Weight, you may find what the Stone will lose in cutting. The Lead will weigh three times as much as the Stone, which is a sure Rule; and commonly it loseth one third part in cutting.

To make Diamonds clean; if you see a thick Table Diamond in a Ring, a Jewel, or in a Collect[2] for a Jewel, you must first make it clean either with a little Pumice-stone, or with a few hot Ashes, or with a little Oyl, and boil it, which will make it very clean.

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[1] Compare Tavernier's "Rule for ascertaining the proper price of a Diamond of whatsoever weight it may be, from 3 up to and above 100 Carats" (ed. Ball, ii, 95 ff.). Also see Linschoten, ii, 145 ff.

[2] Collet, see *New Eng. Dict. s.v.*

Valuation of Diamonds.

There is a Rule acurately to be observed, which is this; A Stone of one *Carrack* is worth 10 *l.*; to value 2 *Carr.* multiply *per* 2, which makes 4, and that 4, *per* 10, the Price of 1 *Carr.* which makes 40 *l.*: So for 3 *Carr.* 3 times 3 is 9 *Carr.* and 9 times 10 *l.* is 90 *l.* This for even *Carracks* comes nearest the true Value; but for $\frac{1}{2}$ or $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *Carr.* although a Stone of 2 *Carr.* be worth 40 *l.* yet in this Rule and way of reckoning (meaning $\frac{1}{2}$ a *Carr.* so valued) it is valued at but $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *Carr.* which is 50 *s.* and $\frac{1}{4}$ of a *Carr.* but at $\frac{1}{4}$ of 50 *s.* although a single Stone, containing a Grain, or $\frac{1}{4}$ *Carr.* is worth 30 *s.* As for Example: You would know what a Stone of 6 Grains is worth; 6 Grains is 3 $\frac{1}{2}$ *Carr.* 3 times 3 is 9, and 9 times 50 *s.* is 22 *l.* 10 *s.* which is the Value of the Stone of 6 Grains. So of 5 Grains, 5 times 5 is 25, and 25 times 12 *s.* 6 *d.* is 15 *l.* 12 *s.* 6 *d.*

To make a Foil for Diamonds.

A Foil to be set under a thick Table Diamond, is to be made with Black Ivory and Mastick, picked and made very clear, with a very little Oyl of Mastick to incorporate them.

Black Ivory and Turpentine heated on the Fire is good, but the former is better.

For a thin Table, Black Ivory scraped very fine is good; or take a little of the said Ivory with a little Oyl of Mastick, and dry the same; or Ivory with a little Gum; fair Water is also very good.

If you sell a thin Diamond that hath high Bisalls[1], then you may set it upon full scraped Ivory, which graceth the Play of the Stone.

A Rose Diamond that is very thick, it's good to set it close upon the Ivory, and it will play very well; or Black Velvet is good under a thin Table-Diamond, scraped as you do Lint.

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[1] Bezel, "the oblique sides or faces of a cut gem." This exact form does not appear in the *New Eng. Dict.*, which gives *beasel*, *bizel*, *bezle*, etc.

The RUBY.

There are four sorts of Oriental *Rubies*; that which is the hardest, the best, and fairest Colour, if it be very fair and cut Diamond-Cut, is no less esteemed than a Diamond for the Weight, (or of the same Weight), but it is rare to see such an one.

The second sort of *Ruby* is White, Oriental, and Hard, which also is of good esteem, if cut of a Diamond-Cut, but not of so high Price as the perfect Red Ruby; but yet if it be in Perfection, 'tis very rare, because there are but few of this sort.

The third sort of *Ruby* is called a *Spinell*[1], which is softer than the former, and is nothing of like esteem, because not so hard, neither hath it the Life of the other, nor of such perfect Colour; it's naturally somewhat greasy in cutting, because of its Softness.

The last sort is called a *Ballace*[2] *Ruby*, which is not in so much esteem as the *Spinell*, because it is not so well coloured: This also is a Stone naturally greasy, and will scarce take a Polish: This looks like a *Garnet*.

SAPHIRE.

There are three sorts[3], one perfect Blue, and very hard, which if cut of a Diamond-Cut, and without *Calcedone*, is of very good Esteem, and worth a good Price, if it be in perfection.

The second is perfect White, and very hard, which if without blemish, Diamond-Cut, is likewise in Esteem.

The third, called Water-*Saphires*, are of small Esteem, being not so hard as the other, and commonly of a dead Waterish Colour; they are of a slender Value.

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[1] Describing Spinel: "varieties are—Spinel Ruby when scarlet, Balas Ruby when rose-red: both often sold as the true ruby, but not nearly so valuable; where of 4 carats valued at half the price of a diamond of the same size" (*Ency. Brit.*[11], xxv, 684). See Ball's note on Tavernier, ii, 466 f.

[2] Balakshi, Badakshi, from the mines in Badakshān (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 52). This mine is situated on the banks of the Shignān, a tributary of the Oxus (Ball, *Ibid.* ii, 156 *n.*). "The best Rubies that are of the best colour and water are in India called Tockes, which are like Carbunkles, there are others called Ballax, which are of lower price than the first, and they are red" (Linschoten, ii, 139).

[3] "The Safiers are of two sortes, one of a darke blew, the other of a right [read 'light'] blew" (Linschoten, ii, 140).

CORNELIANS.

Cornelian Rings, of pure Red Colour, without spots:

Seal-stones of the bigness of 6*d.* or 1*s.* well coloured, are esteemed.

TREE-STONES[1].

Stones with the lively Representation or Form of a Tree thereon, are esteemed.

EMERALD

Is a Stone of good account, and if in Perfection, 'twill bear a very good Price, especially if it be cut Diamond-Cut, which is very rare; for naturally they are foul, and softer than the *Saphire* or *Ruby*.

There is a paler sort, but not affected, being base.

The TOPAZ

Is a Stone very hard, full as hard as the *Saphire*; some are very yellow, and like the Colour of Muskadine, pleasant to look on, which bears a good Price if good and without fault. The Stones may be burnt white in the Fire, and look very well. Another sort are said to be white naturally, which would bear a good Price if perfect, and cut of the Diamond-Cut. There's another sort of them soft, yet shew very well, but have not the quickness of the other, and therefore of low esteem; trial of their hardness may be made by a *Saphire* or such a Stone.

The HYACINTH[2]

Is a Stone Yellow and Transparent; it's of the hardness of the *Emerald*; these Stones are naturally foul, and full of little Sands like Gold; if they be in Perfection, and of a very good Colour, they bear a reasonable Price.

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[1] Moss agates, probably from the mines at Rewa-Kāntha in the Bombay Presidency (Watt, *Econ. Dict.* ii, 171: Linschoten, ii, 141).

[2] The "Iacinth" of Linschoten, ii, 140.

The AMETHIST

Is a Stone of three several Colours, some of them are of a Violet Colour, some are of a more Oriental Colour, therefore called (*Amethist* Oriental) which bears a very good Price, few of these being to be found, but are the pleasantest Colour of all Stones. Another sort being Pale is called the White *Amethist*, or *Amethist* of *Carthagena:* This naturally is of a quick or sparkling Water, and very good Colour, having for the most part a Blush of Red, which Stones in Perfection bear a tolerable Price.

AGATS for Hafts of Knives, white and well marled are good.

TRAVELS

INTO

PERSIA.

LETTER V.

CHAP. I.

Of our crossing the Sea to the Persian *Gulf, Arrival at* Gombroon, *and Stay there.*

SIR,

THE Agent of *Persia* representing how highly conducing to the Company's Interest one of my Profession would be there, I was easily won upon to embark on the *Scipio African*, which with the *Persian Merchant* were sent out this Year for the Gulf, as well to support the declining Credit of the *English* there, for not complying with their Articles of Agreement, as to try if a Trade of *English* Cloth and Tin might be promoted on this Side, as well as in *India*; but with a fruitless Attempt, as in fit place may be made appear.

The 22[d] of *February*, $167\frac{6}{7}$ from *Swally-hole* the Ship was dispatched alone, and the *Persian Merchant* sent into the *South-Seas*[1]; the Council judging it needless to send

[1] "The 'Persia Mercht.' and 'Scipio African' we keepe in Swally hole in hopes of ffreight goods for Persia" (Forrest, *Home Papers* (1676) i, 103). The "Scipio African" went home in 1677 (*Ibid.* i, 139). The "Scipio African" started for Gombroon on 18th February 1677 (O. C. Surat 4267).

two such Ships on such an Errand as they could not repeat for the future, without incurring a Reprimand from their Masters: And for the Traffick of that Place, the *Scipio African* was enough, and more than enough, it only carrying a Gawdy Outside, having Gilt Galleries two Stories, rounded with Banisters after the *French* Mode, more for Shew than Use; which was taking, till the bottom of the Business was enquired into, Whether it came as by Capitulation, to be a Guard to the Gulf? Which not answering that design, it could expect to be received with a Welcome only suitable to such a Pageantry, and no other.

Whereupon it has laden like a Merchant-man more than a Man of War; though at the same time we carried with us a *Portugal Fidalgo, Emanuel Mendos*[1], to appear for their Royalties, which are little inferior to ours, they supplying our Defects in a constant maintaining a Squadron, not so much to defend the *Persian*, as to annoy the *Arab*, their sworn Enemy; yet by that means gain both the Honour and Reputation due only to us, did we not neglect it.

With *Emanuel Mendos* was shipped a Young Friar of the Order of St. *Francis*, who had undergone the Discipline of the *Goa* Physicians with that Severity, that his Mouth was full of backward Blessings for their having exhausted almost his Heart-Blood by their unmerciful bleeding him[2]; insomuch that he seemed to have little more left than would suffice to make him a walking Ghost.

There are few Christian Ships on the Seas, or *Caphalaes* on Shore, move without these Passengers, they finding not

[1] "The Viceroy of Goa hath wrote a Civill Lettr. desiring us to grant passage to one Sinior Emanoel Mendez Henriques, Superintendent for Affaires of the Portugall Crowne at Congo" (I. O. Records, O. C. 4267).

[2] Fryer elsewhere (vol. ii, 14) speaks of the Goa physicians as "great bleeders."

only safe Conduct among them, but courteous and inexpensive Entertainment.

Having quitted *Surat* River's Mouth, we kept the Coast of *India* on Board, till we had weathered the Flats of *Diu* Point[1], the *Easter-most* Point of the Bay of *Cambaia*, in whose Bottom the Mouth of the River *Indus* opens, and the most *Northern* Fortification the *Portugals* possess on this Coast, as Ancient and as Strong as any they have. It was signally famous for the defeat given *Sultan Badur*[2] the Emperor of *Cambaia*, and all his Forces, when at the same time it was besieged by a numerous Fleet of *Turks* from the *Red Sea*, as well as *Arabs* from the *Persian* Gulf; thus assaulted on all sides, it singly bore the Fury of the Barbarous Nations, till relieved by a Fleet raised when the Exchequer at *Goa* was impoverished, the Militia dispirited, the Ecclesiasticks were forced to serve as Volunteers, and the Gentry to take up Arms in Person, under the Command of *Don John de Castro*, Viceroy; to whose Virtue even the Females were so devoted, that they willingly parted with their most precious Jewels for no other Pawn than an Hair of his Beard; which he held to be so sacred an Obligation, that he could not be satisfied till he had redeemed it at the Expence of all his Wealth; so that in that profitable Station, lying on his Bed of Sickness, he had not left himself wherewithal to provide common Necessaries.

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[1] Diu Point, S. of the Kāthiāwār peninsula; Lat. 20° 42′ N.: Long. 70° 55′ E. A citadel was built here by the Portuguese in 1534–5 (Bruce, *Annals*, i, 19: Danvers, i, 407).

[2] Sultān Bahādur, King of Gujarāt, ascended the throne in 1526. He was killed at Diu in a fight with the Portuguese in 1536, under circumstances which have led to much controversy. (See the discussion in *Bombay Gazetteer*, i, Pt I, 347 ff.: Danvers, i, 419 f.) The place was again besieged in 1545, heroically defended under Dom João Mascarenhas, and relieved in 1547 by Dom João de Castro (Danvers, i, 479). The gallantry of the women in the siege of 1538 was specially noteworthy (*Ibid.* i, 428).

This City is placed under Twenty one Degrees and an half of *North* Latitude.

And now launching into the Main Ocean, the Wind at *North-East*, we braced our Sails close, in expectation of the *Southern* Gales, which met us about the Nineteenth Degree of *North* Latitude, sooner by Ten degrees than usual. Here in this large Field of Water the *Singanian*[1] Pirates wreak their Malice on the unarmed Merchants, who not long able to resist their unbounded Lust, become tame Slaves to their lawless Rage, and fall from the highest Hopes, to the humblest degree of Servitude: These are alike cruel, and equally salvage as the *Malabars*, but not so bold as to adventure longer in these Seas than the Winter's Blasts have dismissed them, retiring with their ill-got Booty to the Coasts of *Sinda*, where they begin to rove nearer their Dens of Thievery, not daring to adventure Combat with the *Malabars*, or stir from thence till the Season makes the *Malabar* retire. No part of these Seas are without these Vermin, the Bay of *Bengal* being infested as much as the Coast of *Coromandel* by Outlaw'd *Portugals*, and a mixture of that Race, the most accursedly base of all Mankind, who are known for their Bastard-Brood

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[1] Mr Irvine (Manucci, ii, 227, iv, 433) connects these people with Sindān, about 88 miles N. of Bombay (see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 782 f.). By another account they are represented by the modern Sanghārs of Kāthiāwār, and are said to have taken their name from Sangam, a noted pirate in 13th cent. (*Bombay Gaz.* viii, 165). Khāfī Khān (Elliot, *H. of India*, vii, 353, 355) describes these pirates under the name of Sakana. Manucci (ii, 227) couples them with the Malavares or Malabars. Ovington (162), near Surat, "met with a puny sort of Pirates called *Sanganians*, who finding us a ship of Force, durst not attempt upon us. But a Fortnight before this time, a small *English* ship of no Countenance, was encounter'd by two of these Sanganians, and boarded by them." Finally the pirates were beaten off. Elsewhere (438) he describes the "taking of Captain *Edward Say* by the *Sanganians*, who Inhabit a Country opposite to the *Arabian* Shoar, and then pass over to the other Coast of *Arabia* the *Happy*, which borders upon the *Red* Sea." Their headquarters was Aramra or Ārambhda in the State of Okhamandal (*Ibid.* 444). A. Hamilton (*New Account*, i, 119, 132) had several skirmishes with them.

lurking in the Islands at the Mouths of the *Ganges*, by the Name of *Racanners*[1]. Of the two former we had often sight, neither of which sort were so fool-hardy as to come nigh us, being content to gaze on what they durst not seize, and to wish us Impotence instead of Force.

When we had made Way Three hundred seventy four Miles to the *West* from the Shore, at Sun-set we saw the *Tropick* Birds, which all day long had shewn us the Recreation of the Sea, they being a kind of Sea-hawk, and something bigger than a *Lannar*[2], mount upon the Train to a lofty Pitch; and stooping to their Game (which is the poor Flying Fish, when raised by those that hunt them in the Water) they perform it at one down-come: When they fly for Pleasure they are more free than the best *Falcon:* They being now a pretty way from Land, and not to be supposed to reach it e're dark, 'tis believed they make the Sea their Home, unless in moulting time. Here is another sort follows the same Game, but not so cautious where they alight, the other being fearful of the devouring Inhabitants of the Deep, but these fly close to the Water, and turn about every Wave, so that they often escape our view, and seem to be overwhelmed by the swelling Surges, by the Giddiness of their Flight being oft given over for lost, when by a pleasing Surprise they appear, contrary to all hopes: These have White Bodies and Grey Wings, their Beaks are Red, and two Feathers stand at distance for the Tails, by which they guide themselves to their Prey. In Calms these Birds rest themselves upon the drowsy Tortoise,

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[1] An error of the printer gives this word in the orig. "Buccaneers." The Recanners were the people of Arakan. Bernier (179 f.) gives an account of the outrages committed by these people near the estuaries of the Ganges.

[2] Probably from Old Fr. *lanier*, "cowardly": the Falco lanarius or F. feldeggi (*New Eng. Dict. s.v. Lanner*). Four varieties of Indian sea-eagles, including the Osprey, are described by Balfour (*Cycl.* i, 1011).

supinely floating in the Sea, so that we could take them by our Long-Boat mann'd, and bring them captive tamely aboard Ship; which was often done, the stupid Tortoise only lamenting with deep Sighs and piteous Tears the Condition their Heedlessness had brought them into: The Sluggards helpless and utmost Effort, to bewail what a timely Care and active Endeavours might prevent.

The Princely Dolphin and the brisker Train, afforded more Sport to take, while they pursued the Chase themselves through the Watry Plains, and more Invention to elude the Crafty *Cuttle-fish* its dark Politicks, if what *Gesner* writes were true; *Stomachi seu earum Ventriculi putridâ quadam sanie quam Græci* σηπεδόνα[1] *dicunt, quâ atrum cruorem atramenti instar aquam effundunt quum se peti animadvertunt*; That it emits a black and cloudy Liquor, to disturb the cunning Angler; the Truth whereof I could never observe; only what was more certainly miraculous, its monstrous Figure: The Body was of a duskish Colour, all one Lump with the Head, without Scales; it was endowed with large Eyes, and had long Shreds like *Gorgon*'s Hair, hung in the manner of Snakes, bestuck with Snail-like Shells reaching over the Body; under these appeared a Parrot's Beak; two Slits between the Neck are made instead of Gills for Respiration; from the lowest part of the *Spine* are taken the Bones Druggists sell for *Ossa Sepiæ*[2]; the Inky Matter is bred in the Stomach, if we believe Naturalists; to which Conceit *Claudius* inclining, relates its Tricks;

> *Naturam juvat ipsa dolis, & conscia sortis*
> *Utitur ingenio.*——[3]
>
> Conscious of her shiftless Plight,
> She Nature helps by Artful Slight.

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[1] σηπεδών, "rottenness, putrefaction."

[2] The cuttle-fish sepium, or shell, or bone, called by the French Biscuit de Mer (Balfour, *Cycl.* i, 864).

[3] Claudian, *Idyll.* iii, 8.

With the Pleasure of these, and innumerable other Objects of the pliant Elements, we had sufficient Meditation to admire the diversity of the World's Creation, which how differing soever in Shape, yet agree to compleat a Symphony of Praise to the Great Author; and though uttered by an Heathen, yet it was a Divine Saying, *Jovis plena sunt omnia*; Productive Nature is all full of God.

March the 9th we were *Westward* off Cape *Rouselgaot*[1], which lies in Twenty two and an half *North:* It is that Promontory in *Arabia Fœlix* which gives Entrance to the Mouth of the *Persian* Gulf, and rises high, being most notoriously Sandy. This Country in General was deservedly by the *Hebrews* called *Arabia*, signifying *Barren*[2]; yet how speciously this part may bear the name of *Happy*, I determine not. And now we are in the opening of that Gulf, into which *Euphrates* and other Rivers of lesser Note discharge themselves.

At Night we saw *Muschat*, whose vast and horrid Mountains no Shade but Heaven does hide, though they cover the City with an horrid one; reflecting thence the Heat scorching us at Sun-setting and aboard Ship; within their fiery Bosom the Pilots find secure Harbour for their weather-beaten Ships, the Water moderating the Air[3]. The Prince of this Country is called *Imaum*[4], who is

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[1] Ar. Rās-al-ḥadd, "cape of the boundary"; the most eastern point of the Arabian coast (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 769).

[2] Hebrew *'Arab* seems to have meant originally nothing more than "desert" (*Encyclopaedia Biblica*, i, 272).

[3] The heat of Muskat is notorious. Curzon (*Persia*, ii, 442) says that between June and August ordinary thermometers burst, and those graded high enough have placed the solar radiation at 189° Fahr. He refers to the lively description of the heat by Abd-er-Razzak (*India in the xvth Century*, 9 f.).

[4] "The title Imam implies spiritual leadership, that of Sultan or Seyid (which here signifies 'lord,' not, as in Persia, 'a descendant of the Prophet') the temporal sovereignty, in Oman" (Curzon, ii, 435 *n.*). Fryer seems to have been mistaken in supposing that the Imāms of Muskat claimed guardianship of the tomb at Medina.

Guardian of *Mahomet*'s Tomb, and on whom is devolved the Right of *Caliphship*, according to the *Ottoman* Belief: Wherefore the *Indian* Princes of that Persuasion send every Year Rich Presents by those Vessels set out to carry Devotees to *Mahomet*'s Tomb, which are wholly his, and at his disposal, whereby he heaps up more Wealth than accrues to him from the Income of his Barren Soil.

Sailing *Westward*, the City and the Castle lye open to our View; it is much frequented by Merchants over the Deserts, and no less by those from *Mocha* in the *Red Sea*, and by the way of *Grand Cairo*; it vends all Drugs and *Arab* Steeds, and pays Gold for *Indian* Commodities: Here they keep safe those Ships they steal or purchase, for Wood, nor Timber growing here: They are a Fierce Treacherous People, gaining as much by Fraud as Merchandize.

The Matchless Outrages, after Faith plighted, committed in that Place by the *Portugals*, was not only the Occasion of their being quite beaten out thence, but of an eternal and irreconcilable Quarrel between them[1]: For where Religion, backed with the greatest Interest, strives for the Prize, I know not whether is most concerned, to gain a Conquest, or to perpetrate Barbarities, the common Event of such a War, where to kill their Fellow-Creatures is esteemed a service to the Creator. And thus it proved here; For while that bold Nation persisted in its Discoveries, Navigation perfecting their Geography, they began to enquire into the course of Profit, as well as their Ships way, and found that all their Inland Trade tended to this *Sinus* and the Red Sea; wherefore they bent themselves to be Masters of their Keys that unlocked the World's Treasures, for which *Muschat*, is very commodious,

[1] For the burning and sack of Muskat in 1560 by Afonso Dalboquerque, see his *Commentaries*, i, 81 ff., and Danvers, i, 159 f.

of which becoming Possessors, had not a too hot Zeal thrust them on, they might to this day have enjoyed it with a just Commendation due to their Industry; but sacrificing to Lust and Rapin what should have been to the Glory of God and True Religion, which is Pure as well as Peaceable, they soon were driven out thence to *Ormus*; where we shall conclude what belongs to this Story.

In the mean time we had gained the Tropick of *Cancer*, the very day the Sun had gained the *Æquinox*; when the *North-West* Winds envied our entry into the Gulf, and drove us out for Sea-room on the *Persian* Coast, nearer the Shoars of *Sinda*[1], so that we spent a Week in tossing up and down, and striving against a mighty Stream, before we reached *Muschat* again; but then the Winds were spent, we calmly passed by some Islands in the Gulf, and a *South* Wind gently blowing, we stemmed the furious Current, till we could see on each side Land from *Persia* and *Arabia*; on the one side St. *Jaques*[2] his Head-land, on the other that of *Mussendown*[3] appeared, and afore Sun set we entered the Streights Mouth, not above a League wide: It lies in Thirty six Degrees *North* Latitude; a Mile within its Neck on a row, are Four or Five Rocks, or Islets, by Mariners called the *Coines*; from the resemblance

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[1] Sind.

[2] Rās Jashak, 130 miles from Bandar 'Abbās, apparently the first mercantile settlement made by the East India Co. on Persian soil, having been founded by Edward Connock in 1615, and a fort erected in 1619. The place seems to have been abandoned when the English secured a better position at Bandar 'Abbās (Curzon, ii, 428: Foster, *Letters*, iv, 191).

[3] Rās Masandam, for which see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 602. Curzon (ii, 446 f.) writes the name Rās Musandim, the "Selama's sainted cape" of Thomas Moore, the Arabs, it is said, calling it by that name, or Māma Selimeh, in memory of the holy lady there interred. The author of the *Periplus* calls it the mountain of the Asaboi or Beni Asab tribe (McCrindle, 102 f.). Linschoten (i, 44) calls it Cape de Moncado: Lockyer (213) Cape Macedon: Dalboquerque (*Comm.* i, 101) Cape Macinde.

of those Leavers of the same Name, wherewith they raise, or lower the Breeches of their Guns[1].

About Midnight we were between *Ormus* and *Larack*[2], Forty four Miles from the entry of the Streights, the biggest not above Four Mile in Length; the lesser is *Ormus*; great indeed for Name in time of yore, now only famous for its Clifts of Salt[3] (which though pierced by extream Heat, yet are a cure for the most burning Fever, the only known Remedy for such cases in this Climate) and the Castle built by the *Portugals*, the chief strength of all these Seas.

Passing both these Islands, we made *Kismash*[4], and leaving it a-stern, we turned off short to the Port of *Gombroon*[5], or *Bunder Abassee*; in which Road we found Two lusty *Dutch* Ships, Two great ones of the *Moors*, and One small one from *Bombaim*; it is good Riding for Ships in this Harbour, though an open Road, by reason of the firm Anchor-hold; it is otherwise subject to hot Blasts from the adjacent Hills, which move the rowling Sands

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[1] The Great and Little Quoin Islands lie north of Cape Musandim. P. della Valle (i, 3) saw three of them, but does not give their name. One of them is mentioned by Morier (*Second Journey*, 30). Quoin is "a wooden wedge adjusted to support the breech of a gun, so as to give the muzzle the required elevation or depression" (Smyth, *Sailors' Word-Book*, *s.v.*). The word is another form of Coin (*New Eng. Dict.*).

[2] Larak of the Indian Govt. map. "*Laree* is an Island nearer to Ormus than Kechmishe, well inhabited, and so stor'd with Stags and Hinds, that in one day we kill'd five and forty" (Tavernier, 94). Some of the party of P. della Valle, in spite of the pirates who dwelt there, landed and killed "an abundance of Goats" (i, 3).

[3] "There is neither tree nor herb that grows in it; for it is all cover'd with Salt, which is very good and as white as snow" (Tavernier, 255). For Ormus see Yule, *Marco Polo*[3], i, 107 ff.: Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 645 f.: Curzon, ii, 413 ff.

[4] Kishm, the largest island in the Persian Gulf: the Quexime of early letters (Foster, *English Fact.* (1618–1621) 333). See Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 485: Curzon, ii, 410 ff.

[5] Gombroon, the old name of Bandar 'Abbās. The derivation of the word is doubtful, see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 384: for its history, Curzon, ii, 418 f.

between, in such sort, that in the station near the shoar when these are raised to Clouds, the Ships cannot be seen.

The 22d of *March* in the Forenoon we were wafted ashoar just to the *English* Factory, the Sea washing the very Sand afore its Doors; upon our Landing we were Welcomed with a Civility more essential to the Temper of the People, than what could proceed from any Demerits of ours, for they are naturally the most Courtly of the *East*: So strange an alteration in Three hundred Leagues as passes admiration! for whereas we left a Sullen, Melancholy, Sunburnt Nation; an Open, Jovial, and a Clear Complexioned Race of Mankind is offered in exchange.

The House the *English* reside in, was formerly a *Caravan Seraw*[1], and built after the best manner, with upper and lower Piazzo's, flat atop, with a stately Portal; where every Morning the Servants belonging to it make a profound Reverence, and the Puritannical *Banyan* will Kiss the Threshold, Adoring that for his God that brings him most Profit, though pretended to be done out of respect to their Masters. It bears St. *George* his Banner at one Corner, as do the *Dutch* and *French* their Flags, between whose Factories it is seated; Ours was the Emperor's Gift, both theirs purchased[2]; the first Beautified and Strengthened with good Stone Building; all the rest, but the *Caun*'s, being most of Mud and Stone, the usual Materials for Building in this Town, without either Lime or Mortar.

The Structures are all plain atop, only *Ventoso*'s[3], or

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[1] Pers. Kāravān sarāī.

[2] "The entrance into the Sultan's house, is at the East side of the market place. His, the Shabanders, English, and Duch (*sic*) (distinguisht by their Flags or Ensigns, displayed by *Aeolus* atop their houses) are all worth the entring in or my noting" (Herbert, 121).

[3] A translation of the Pers. *bādgīr*, "wind-catcher," for which see Yule, *Marco Polo*[3], ii, 453: *Hobson-Jobson*, 46. Ormus "in Sommer time is so unreasonable and intollerable hotte, that they are forced to

Funnels, for to let in the Air, the only thing requisite to living in this fiery Furnace with any comfort; wherefore no House is left without this contrivance; which shews gracefully at a distance on Board Ship, and makes the Town appear delightful enough to Beholders, giving at once a pleasing Spectacle to Strangers, and kind Refreshment to the Inhabitants; for they are not only elegantly Adorned without, but conveniently Adapted for every Apartment to receive the cool Wind within. The Streets are generally Narrow, especially where Merchandise are exposed to Sale, the better to receive the advantages of Umbrello's extended from side to side to keep the Sun's violence from their Customers: It reaches more than a Mile along the shoar, has Three Block-houses, and one old Castle dismantled; the other stored with Guns, the *Portugals* left behind them.

The Governor's Palace fronts the Sea, and is a stately Mansion; a Mile from the same is a Garden as good as can be imagined in this sandy Desart; whither the Merchants, as well as the *Caun* resort to Feast, or upon any publick Solemnity go in Cavalcade for the more pompous observation thereof.

The *Shawbunder*[1] has his Grandeur too, as well as receipt of Custom, for which he pays the King yearly Twenty two thousand *Thomands*[2], every *Thomand* making

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lie and sleepe in wooden Cesterns made for the purpose full of water, and all naked both men and women, lying cleane under water saving only their heads: al their houses are flat above, and in the toppes thereof they make holes to let the ayre come in, like those of Cayro, and they use certaine instruments like Waggins with bellowes, to beare the people in, and to gather winde to coole them withall, which they call Cattaventos" (Linschoten, i, 51 f.).

[1] Pers. *shāhbandar*, harbour master (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 816).

[2] Pers. *tomān*, a coin which has fallen from P. della Valle's estimate, which was perhaps too high, of £4. 10*s.* 0*d.* "At the beginning of this [last] century, when security had been reestablished under the Kajar dynasty, Malcolm gave the value of the *tomān* as 1*l.* Between 1820 and 1830 Frazer valued it at 11*s.* Since then the value

Three pound and a Noble in our Accompt; Half which we have a Right to[1], were our Company as good as their words, the *Persians* having not failed in theirs before the defection on the part of the *English*; which I reserve for a more proper place; the Agent sitting content only with one Thousand *Thomands* paid out of the Customs yearly, and the Custom free of all the Agent protects as *English*; which was but lately granted, by the earnest and repeated Request of the present Agent, they before only giving us good words instead of Payment.

This great Officer, or Farmer of the Emperor's Customs, is obliged on the Roads to provide for the safe Travelling for Merchants by a constant Watch, insomuch that they are in no fear either of Robbers or Loss of Goods, they upon entry into the Customhouse being secured through the Kingdom without Oppressing the Subject, the *Shawbunder* being obliged to make satisfaction; for which *Rhadorage*[2], or high Imposts, are allowed by the Merchants, both at Landing and in their passage Inland.

From which we have Immunities, the Agent only Presenting an handsome *Piscash*[3], to the several *Cauns* in his Journy, of *Europe* Rarities, placed to the Company's Account; and in requital have Provisions of Fruits and all

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has fluctuated, but with a general inclination to fall. In 1874 the *tomān* was worth ten francs or 8*s*. In 1889–90 it had sunk at one moment to 5½*s*. The rise in the price of silver has since raised it to over 6*s*." (Curzon, i, 471 f.).

[1] At the surrender of Ormus on 22nd April 1622, the English received a proportion of the plunder and a grant of a moiety of the customs at Gombroon. This last condition was evaded by the Persian Court, and gave rise to much troublesome negotiations (Bruce, *Annals*, i, 237, 262, 429: Curzon, ii, 419 f.).

[2] Pers. *rāhdārī*, "transit duty." "But neither in *Erivan*, nor in any other part of *Persia* are the Merchants put to open their Bales at the Custom-Houses, as in *Turkie*. They only pay certain Duties towards securing the Highway, which Duties they call *Raderies*, and those that gather them *Raders*" (Tavernier, 14). Also see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 753.

[3] See vol. i, 330.

other Necessaries, sent in *Gratis* to the Agent, though the Company pay dearly for the Civility, while the Agent is only Benefitted thereby ; they carrying not only Goods, but great returns of Money unmolested ; for which reason the Natives cast themselves upon his Management, rather than suffer the Exactions of the *Rhadarage*, for which reason the Agent has no ordinary Recompense, it being the chief Emolument of his Place: The Natives still paying their Respect to his Character, which is, one of the Emperor's Friends, not daring to Offend him whom the King delighteth to Honour.

And therefore it is that at Port no small care is taken to carry fair with the Governor of the Province, (who is a *Caun*, or Duke) and the *Shawbunder*; and on this score we were no sooner on shoar, but we must Compliment both these, where we were received in their open places of Audience, and entertained with Coho[1], Tea, or Rose-Water, Boiled with Cardamoms, and sweetned with Sugar-Candy, Plates of *Persian* Fruit dried, and Sweetmeats ; while the Room is Perfumed with *Rackbeet*[2], a Compound Sweet Water, Wood of Aloes[3] smoaking, or Glasses of Rose-Water poured on our Garments to excessive slabbering ; and if leave be desired to Smoak Tobacco, they will offer Wine of the Country, and at last dismiss us with *Pawn* ; which Visit they fail not to return, nor must it be forgotten to bestow on them Presents of considerable Value. The Rooms are spread with Carpets as in *India*, and they have

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[1] Ar. *qahwa*, coffee.

[2] Pers. *'araq-i-bīd-i-mushk*, distilled willow water. "Twenty cases of another water, distilled from a flower which is only found in Persia, and is called *bedemus* ; it is a very comforting water against all fevers caused by heat" (Manucci, ii, 51). In the list of perfumes used at Akbar's Court we find *'Araq-i-bed-i-mushk* (*Āīn*, i, 75). Bernier (147) calls it *beidmichk*, "a cordial held in the highest estimation and very scarce." For the tree see Curzon, ii, 342.

[3] Aloes wood or eagle wood ; see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 16, 335.

Pigdans[1], or Spitting Pots of the Earth of this Place, which is valued next to that of *China*, to void their Spittle in.

The Water is preserved in Jarrs, and drank out of *Puckeries*[2], that keep it Cooler than any where else.

This Port receives most Ships going or coming from *Busserah*, as they find the Markets answer their designs: But the greatest Traffick, next *Indian* Cloth, comes from the Spice Trade; which the *Dutch* engross, beside Sugar and Copper formerly; for which they carry off Fifty thousand *Thomands* worth of Velvets, Silk, Raw and Wrought, with Rich Carpets, besides many Tunn of Gold and Silver, Yearly; so Great and Absolute is their Trade from the *Moluccoes*, and *South* Sea, hither, that they are reported to have brought Six Ships laden with Spice, which the cunning Merchants thought to make advantage of; but the *Hollanders*, being Crafts-Masters, sent for the Cargo on shoar of Two Ships, and piled it up before the Factory Gate, where they not coming to their Price immediately, set Fire thereto, and consumed it all; which the Buyers neglecting, or laughing at, they caused other Two to be served in the same manner, knowing so great a quantity had caused a Glut, when they asked the same Rate for the remaining Two; as the old *Sybils* did *Tarquin* for their Oracular Writings left unburnt; whereby the *Persians* were Taught, that their Extravagance was not Madness, but Policy, they being obliged to Bid Higher for fewer Commodities; the *Hollanders* being well assured none could furnish them with others than was brought by them.

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[1] Pers. *pīkdān*: early travellers call it a "spitting cupp" (Hedges, *Diary*, i, 149).

[2] This word has not been satisfactorily traced. Prof. Browne suggests Pers. *pākrīz*, "a filter": but this word does not seem to be actually used in this sense. Pers. *baghalī* is another suggestion (see Wills, *Land of Lion and Sun*, 191). These vessels must have been like the Surahī (vulgarly known as Serai) of India (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 812).

The *English* Company's Trade is but small here, only carrying off some few Drugs, *Carmania* Wool[1], Goats, Dates, and Horses; though they make it worth their while to keep their Agent in good Port, as well from the Allowance from the *Shawbunder*, as by Consulage of 2 *l.* and ½ *per Cent.* for all Foreign Goods that seek their Protection; on which score they seem to drive a Trade, and send up every Shipping Three or Four hundred Camels laden with *Indian* Wares; as many as the *Dutch* bring down to Ship off on their own Stock and Ships: But this Year a great Bluster was made with *English* Cloth and Tin brought by our Arrival; which, however, the understanding Traffickers smile at, knowing it comes better Cheap by the *Caphala*'s in Exchange of other Goods from *Stambole*, i. e. *Constantinople*, *Smirna*, *Scanderoon*, and *Aleppo*; and that *Suffahaun*[2] is already over-full of *London* Cloath, or *Sackcloath Londre*[3], as they call it.

The *French* have as little to do at this Port as in other Places; and were it not for the Credit of their Interpreter, who gets good Profit by Wine, (he being priviledg'd with a Wine-press for that Nation at *Siras*[4], as well as the other *Europe* Nations), they could not subsist: But *Monsieur* makes an outside, lives retiredly, and without more Business than to visit and be visited (which Courtesy passes interchangeably among the Christians as well as Natives) lounges his time away.

The convenient Situation of our Factory Butting farthest out on the open Strand, yields a Prospect over the

[1] See vol. i, 219.

[2] Safahān was a recognised form of Ispahān. Prof. Browne, *A Year amongst the Persians*, p. 199, quotes the verse:

Safahān ma'nī' i lafz-i-jihān-ast;
Jihān lafz-ast, u ma'nī' Isfahān-ast.
"Isfahān is the idea connoted by the word 'world';
'World' is the word, and Isfahān is the meaning."

[3] Pers. *sakallat*, broad-cloth (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 861). [4] Shīrāz.

Sea to the *Arabian* Coast, and on a clear day *Ormus* Castle might be discovered by the naked Eye, it being not above a League from our House, as all the Islands interspersed in this Gulph; though the most diverting was of our *Europe* Sailors mounting their *Starts* or Asses, the briskest, neatest, and nimblest of that kind I ever saw; so that they seemed both by their Mettle and easiness of their going, to lose the Epithet of *dull* affixed to their Nature: For their Masters waiting here their Fare, no sooner had left them to the Guidance of the Seamen, who would prove their Skill in Riding, where many times they would cast them on the Sand, both to the Sport of the Standers-by, and Mirth of their Companions; letting them know a Yard was more squared for their Cavalcade, than these Headstrong Creatures: Though for this Diversion afforded from the Seamen on their accustomed Element, they are quit, when these Asses forsake their surer Footing on Land, to stagger on board Ship; which was often attempted for the Gilded Outside of the beautiful *Scipio*, where the Captain entertained the Governor and all his Train, and as many as would venture out of Curiosity the Laughter of the Roguy Mariners: Till on the 15th of *April*, 1677. it returned to the *Indian* Coast; but not before the Sailers had stigmatized this Place for its Excessive Heat, with this sarcastical Saying, *That there was but an Inch-Deal betwixt* Gomberoon *and Hell*[1].

And to speak truth, when the raging Dog-star reigns with us, it is not half so hot as it is now here; wherefore all People of any Quality are preparing to leave this Place; and the *Caun* had been gone e're now, had not the King sent him a *Collat*[2] or Robe of Honour, he having by his Male-Administration of his Office not long ago provoked

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[1] British soldiers apply a similar phrase to Aden.

[2] See vol. i, 223.

his Master; for which, large Sums of Money have hardly made Attonement, even to his utter Impoverishment, had he been displaced as he expected. But a *Goloomy Shaw*[1], or Messenger, arriving with the joyful News of his Restoration, he invited all the City to be a Witness of this Grace.

The *Goloomy Shaw* staid at the Garden without the City some days at the Expence of the *Caun*, till things could be provided for his Reception, which was thus; Early in the Morning the loud Trumpets and Drums gave notice that the *Caun* and all his Troops were ready to take Horse, and waited the Attendance of all Ranks to the chief *Mosque*, thence to the Garden; where coming and seeing the Messenger with the King's Letter advanced on the Top of his Turbat, with his Back towards the *Caun*, he alights, and after Three Obeysances and Thrice kissing the Ground, he approaches and takes it in his Hand[2], sealed

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[1] Pers. *ghulām-i-Shāh*, the King's slave or page. "The *Gouler-Agasi* is General of the *Goulams*, or Slaves. For indeed they are all either Slaves, or the Sons of Slaves of all sorts of Nations, who do the King very good Service. They are for the most part runnegade *Georgians*; and there are about 18000 of these *Goulams*, being all Horse-men whose pay is from five to eight Tomans a year" (Tavernier, 224). "Gholam, or slave, has always been given as a title to the personal guards of eastern monarchs. If the son of the first nobleman in Persia is admitted among the guards, he claims the envied title of Gholam-e-Shah, or 'the slave of the King'" (Malcolm, *H. of Persia*[2], i, 176 *n.*). These guards have been described by many writers. About 1850 they numbered 2500 men, well mounted, armed, and excellent horsemen (Lady Sheil, *Glimpses of Life*, 385). For more recent times, Benjamin, *Persia and the Persians*, 304.

[2] "The *Kan* being advertis'd that the *Calaat* is coming, he rides forth of the City to meet it, attended by all his principal officers, the Chief of the City, and the greatest part of the Inhabitants. The Juglers must also give their attendance, together with the Drums and Trumpets, and all the Musick-makers. They rendez vous usually in a Garden one or two leagues from the City, where the King's Messenger stays with the *Calaat*," Tavernier, 236, who gives a full account of the reception of the latter in the city. Curzon (i, 446) describes the present routine, which is very similar. The place where the Governor is invested with the robe is called *Khil'at-pūshan*, "the investing with the dress of honour." The same rule prevailed in the Mughal Court (*Āīn*, i, 264: Sir T. Roe, i, 55).

up in a *Sarbaff*[1] Bag, or Cloth of Gold, and first kissing it, gives it to the *Mullah*, or Chief Priest, when he retires to Prayers, and vests himself with the Robe of Honour; in which time all seat themselves in a decent Posture, and at his appearance rise till the *Mullah* have read the Emperor's Pleasure, when every one pays him their Congratulations, and after a Dish of *Coho*[2] or Tea, mounting, accompany him to his Palace; the Ships in the Road on this Occasion discharging their great Guns, and the several Forts and Blockhouses saluting him as he passes: Where alighting, a Noble Banquet, and truly *Persian*, was ushered in, to which the sly *Banyans* were invited with the rest; who durst not but be present, though only to make their Honours, and return; for they will not eat with any but their own Tribe, lest they should be defiled: Yet here they live not so exactly up to their *Pythagorean* Rule, as they of *Guzerat* do, though the very next Neighbours to them, coming from the Province of *Sinda*[3]; for these indulge themselves in Goats-Flesh, Sheep, Pullen, and almost every thing but Cows-Flesh, for which they willingly pay 350 *Thomands* Yearly, to spare them alive; and for this reason is it the Shambles have none; but of every thing else, both Flesh and Fish, here is as great Plenty as the World has besides.

The Oysters of this Gulph are the best, next the *British*; which I purpose to treat of in their turn. Amidst this Fulness of every thing, it is wonderful to consider where they fetch them, or how they are bred; for these Sandy Meadows produce little more than Shrubs (neither

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[1] Pers. *zarbāf*, *zarbāfta*, woven in gold, brocade. "They also make at *Yezd* several Stuffs of Silk intermix'd with Gold and Silver, which they call Zerbafte" (Tavernier, 44). This *zarī* or gold brocade is also made at Ispahān (Morier, *Second Journey*, 155).

[2] Coffee, vol. ii, 162.

[3] At the present day the Hindu traders in Persia are chiefly from Shikārpur and Lower Sind: and are half-Persianised in dress and appearance (Curzon, ii, 244, 401, 407).

Grass nor Corn being to be seen near this Town); yet on these, both Goats, Sheep, Oxen, and Camels, Mules, and Asses, brouze and grow fat; were not the Food of the Commons Dates (which this Soil is properest for) and Fish, and so the Merchant is furnished for his Money good cheap.

The Water serving this Town generally, is of two sorts; the first and most brackish strained through the Sands into Pits from the Sea, with which they boil Meat, and give it their working Cattle to drink; the other is immediately from the Heavens, reserved in Cisterns built by the Charity of well-disposed Persons; out of which, the Poor, the Covetous, and Slaves, the Flocks and Herds too, are often supplied, when a plentiful Rain has made them overflow[1]. For here are neither Fresh-Water River nor Springs to be found nigher than four *Pharsangs*[2] (whither the Rich load an Ass, Mule, or Camel, and send a Servant to fetch every day's Store); so that did they not lay up such Provisions Yearly, they would subsist very poorly. These Cisterns or Storehouses for Rain are digged out of the Ground deep

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[1] These water cisterns (*āb-ambār*) are highly commended by MacGregor, who recommends their adoption in India (*Narrative of a Journey through Khorasan*, i, 23 f.).

[2] Modern Pers. *farsang*, *farsakh*, the Arabicised form of the old Persian *parasang* (transcribed by the Greeks as παρασάγγης, supposed to be derived from the stones fixed on the road to mark distances. According to the Zend Avesta, it is the distance at which a long-sighted man can see a camel, and distinguish whether it be white or black. In Luristān the standard is sound, not sight, a *farsakh* being the distance at which a drum beat can be heard. The original parasang was an old Babylonian measure, based on the Babylonian cubit, and was equal to 3·523 miles. But the modern parasang varies in proportion as the modern cubit varies, its mean value being 3·915 miles, which corresponds with the Royal Babylonian cubit (Curzon, i, 33 *n.*). He fixes it approximately $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 4 miles. Stack (*Six Months in Persia*, i, 72 *n.*) says it is about 4 miles to the north, and to the south 3 miles. MacGregor (i, 78) fixes it at $3\frac{2}{3}$ miles in Khorasan. Browne (*A Year amongst the Persians*, 65 *n.*) is disposed to think that it means the distance covered in an hour by a good horse at a walking pace. Layard (*Nineveh and Babylon*, 59) says it "was not a measure of distance, but rather indicated a certain amount of time employed in traversing a given space."

into the Earth, beyond the Surface of the Sand, and are curiously covered above with Stone, and plastered within with excellent durable Plaster; some Spherical, others Transverse, cutting one another in manner of a Cross; others, and the largest, Oblong, Square, Orbicular, or Oval; which being once finished, like their *Caravan Seraws* have no Endowment to maintain them, either to keep them clean, or from falling to Decay; so regardless are they of Futurity, that no one is suffered to repair them: On which account it is, that about their great Cities so many of all sorts are found, newly built, superannuated, defiled, (which they esteem so, if either Man or Beast have dropped in and been drowned), unfrequented, and full of Nastiness; so pervicaciously Vainglorious, that they will have the Repute of an entire Founder, or none.

To replenish which, two Seasons shower down their Benedictions; the one about this time in *May* or *June*, and the other at or near *Christmas*; and then not of a long continuance, by reason the intense Heat of the Sun permits not the Vapours to condense themselves into Clouds, but expands them into Air: For this cause is it that the Rains do not always fall, or if they do, more sparingly in this Month than in *December*; which gives more opportunity by its Retrograde Course, and longest distance from this Circle, than when that great Luminary approaches nearest[1].

The Periodical and stated Winds of the Gulph are the *Northwest*, by the Inhabitants termed *Shemauls*[2], which

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[1] The annual rainfall in S. Persia is about 5 inches (*Ency. Brit.*[11], xxi, 190).

[2] Pers. *shimāl*, *shamāl*, the north wind. "The prevailing wind is the *shamal*, or north-west, which blows down the Gulf from its western extremity, alternating in the winter months with the *sharki*, or south-east wind, which is cold and biting at sea, and is apt to bring on short-lived storms of rain" (Curzon, ii, 466). "The *shimal* or north wind is the most trying in the Gulf" (Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles in Persia*, 313 *n.*).

begin when the *Cowshees*[1] or *South-East* leave off, which is not before the Heats are entred, when the *Shemauls* blow from the Sea to asswage them; this Climate, otherwise uninhabitable, would become more miserable than the *Vesuvian* Plains, or Tops of *Ætna*, since it is not above Three Degrees and an half beyond the Tropick of *Cancer*, towards the *Artick* Pole, and floored with vast Sands pent in by the surrounding Sprouts of *Taurus* and *Imaus* continued hither: By either of these Winds when they blow impetuously, the Sands are whirled about, to the obscuring of the Day, and burying all alive in darkness, as *Prosper Alpinus* relates to happen sometimes in *Egypt*[2]; which, as he observes, occasions sore Eyes and Blindness in all Sandy Regions, from the inflammable Particles kindled by the Sun-beams striking on the Sands, which here is verified in an high degree on the Natives; nor are they less afflicting to Strangers newly arrived, chafing and fretting their very Skin to Rawness, and then vexing them by their fresh assailing with Botches and Blanes. To these Winds we may add the Diary, or *Terrheneos*[3] from the Mountains, which breathe a gentler Air all the Morning, hardly curdling the Ocean; in the Afternoon stronger from the Sea, refresh the Fiery Plain.

The most unhealthy of these are the *South-East*, for that then the Air is thicker, by reason of the Seas Vicinity, and the Sun's departure towards its *Southern* Progress; for upon its return the Skies do clear, and the Clouds, which used to hang about the Mountain-tops till Mid-day, vanish earlier at the Sun's approach; whereupon this Climate is not subject to the greater part of Distempers a more Watry

[1] Prof. Browne suggests Pers. *kāshī*, in the sense of a west wind.

[2] Herodotus (iii, 26) describes the destruction of a Persian army by a sand-storm. These storms in Egypt are very severe; see Lane, *Modern Egyptians*[5], i, 2 f.

[3] Port. *vento terrenho*, the land-wind. Linschoten (i, 234) uses the word for the winds thus specially called in S. India.

Country may abound with; though it be to some; to wit, to Rheumatisms, Numbness, and Periodical Fevers, such as are Tertians and Quartans, but chiefly to Quotidians; rarely incident to Dropsies; oftner obnoxious to Jaundice, Obstructions of the Spleen, Mesentery, and Windiness of the Hypochondrias: They dread not a Lask[1], but are concerned when they cannot go to Stool.

The Fury of these were not over at our Arrival; to avoid which I was forced in the beginning of *May* to betake my self to *Asseen*[2], a Country Village Three Persian Miles or *Parasangs* from *Gombroon*, than which it is not much better, only remoter from the Sea, wherefore it labours under the Incommodity of a stifling Air, it being so near the Hills that the free Blasts are thereby intercepted; only it enjoys a greater benefit of limpid Water, for which it is highly valuable; and by the Industry of the Hinds some things do sprout here, and the Date-Trees are nourished by the unwearied drawing of Water, which flourish the better for their Pains.

The constant Din of a great many at this Work together, like the creeking of so many Cart-Wheels ungreas'd, afford the Sick little Rest; and without this obstreperous Noise no Water could be had; for they use only the *Indian* Wheel[3], drawn up and let down by Oxen,

[1] An obsolete term for looseness of the bowels. "For when the Waters retire, and they are filled with Mud, and perhaps with the ill Juices which they take from the Earth, or when the River is re-entred into its Channel sufficiently muddy, they are more corrosive, do cause Disenteries and Lasks" (De la Loubere, *A new Historical Relation of the Kingdom of Siam* (1693), 21).

[2] Isin or 'Ishin, about 10 miles N. of Bandar 'Abbās. "They [at Gombroon] that will be at charge fetch their water from a fountain three leagues from Bander, called the water of Issin" (Tavernier, 256). "There is not a well of good water in all the Town: therefore they are supply'd with what they drink from Asseem, about seven Miles distant towards the Mountains" (Lockyer, *Account of Trade*, 233). A. Hamilton (*New Account*, i, 94) says they fetch water "from Asseen, about 15 miles from the city, because the water of Naban, which is three miles off, is not accounted salubrious."

[3] More generally known in India as the "Persian" wheel.

with as little Intermission Day or Night, as *Sysiphus*'s repeated Trouble is reported.

In the day, besides the Heat and Sands, the Winds brought with them another Plague, the Locusts[1], to benight the day, and fly in Armies to devour the Greens wheree're they find them, gnawing the Palms and other Trees, both Leaf and Fruit, spreading where they alight as thick as Bees drove out to swarm a new Colony; no other Charm than Fire can expel this Pest, when kindled with Wisps and withered Boughs they run up and down from Tree to Tree, making an hideous Clamour, yet scarcely make them leave, where they once beset: Thus *Salamander*-like these People live in Fire, making a Remedy of their Disease; for here all things seem as if they had undergone a General Conflagration, or that *Phœbus* with his Solar Rays had like another *Phaeton* scorched this part of the World; or rather this unhappy Soil retains the Curse of *Adam*'s Fall, for being once so nigh that Terrestrial Paradise; concerning which I am not ignorant that it is left undetermined among Divines, and for that cause there is always administred matter of dispute to the Interpreters of *Genesis*. *Elias* the *Thesbite* is positive that the Garden of *Eden* is still in being, not doubting many still go thither, and that the Passage to it lies easy and open, but that overcome with the Delights thereof they never care to return. *Origen* and *Philo*, tenacious of their Allegories, have fancied a Mystical Paradise, the true Ideas of *Plato*; and are imitated therein by *Psellius*, who says, that *Chaldean* Pardyse (so he calls it) Εμπυρία καλὴ τῶν δημιουργικῶν πηγῶν, is nothing else but a Choir of the Heavenly Virtues which illustrate the Ætherial Father, and the Rays of Holiness flowing from the first Creator. Some situate this contended-for Place in

[1] Morier (*Second Journey*, 98) describes flights of locusts at Shīrāz. For S. Persia, see Goldsmid, *Telegraph and Travel*, 609.

Mesopotamia; others in *India*, between both which we now are; but there remains the difficulty of reconciling the Four Rivers, which admits of no other subterfuge than to have recourse to the General Inundation.

But I leave this, and proceed to acquaint you, that nothing is left here but a sensible Map of Purgatory, if that may please some to be a Road to Paradise; to see how the Fiery Element makes the Mountains gape, the Rocks cleft in sunder, the Waters stagnate, to which the Birds with hanging Wing repair to quench their Thirst; for want of which the Herds do low, the Camels cry, the Sheep do bleat, the barren Earth opens wide for Drink, and all things appear calamitous for want of kindly Moisture; in lieu of which, hot Blasts and Showers of Sand infest the purer Air, and drive not only us, but Birds and Beasts to seek remoter dwellings, or else to perish here; for which purpose 'tis familiar to behold the Crows and Sparrows take their flight to Upland Countries, as also Dogs and other Vermin to remove, to avoid the Tyranny of this Season.

The *Caun* and *Shawbunder* were gone before us; at length by their Example we left the Port, tho it was not before the latter end of *June*.

The Governor of this Province is stiled the *Caun* of *Bunder Abassæ*[1], either for the store of *Abasses* shipped off here, or that it more immediately respects the *Abasseen* Countrey than any other: The adjacent Islands, with the Soldiery, are annexed to his Jurisdiction; though *Northwest* beyond *Gombroon* his Rule extends not far, nor much Inland, yet along the Gulph to its very Mouth he possesses a large Tract of Ground for many Leagues together: His Metropolis is *Gombroon*, where he resides till the soultry

[1] Gombrūn or Gomron was captured from the Portuguese in 1614 by the Persian forces under Dāūd Khān, and the place was renamed in honour of the victorious monarch, Shāh 'Abbās (Curzon, ii, 418 ff.).

Summer makes him fly beyond the Hills, to breathe in cooler Air. Which we betook our selves to, after I had returned from *Asseen*, whither I went for the sake of the Water, as welcome to our parched Throats, as a drop of that cool Liquor to the importunate *Dives*, who was involved in the Center of those Flames which we on the Brink of the Abyss only had a Taste of.

Nor was a Present at this time from the *Caun*, of Apples candied in Snow, less grateful, though more feasible, the Messenger being impowered, for all the scorching Gulph interposed, at Night to bear them to us; and by Break of Day we drank a Glass of Wine quenched with a Lump of Snow and Ice, to the *Caun*'s Health. Nor had we less hope to pass this dreadful Lake of *Sulphur*, since he had sent us a Token of his discovery of a more Temperate Climate, by a Fruit not unknown to us (*Genetins*[1]), being Natives of a calmer Region; with these we cheated our Thirst for a while: In the mean time it fared not much better with us, than with those groaning under a burning Fever, who by large Draughts endeavour to quench their Appetite, till it enrage the Distemper to an higher Fit: For now we saw (what before we believed) the tardy Fowls pay for their lingring here, and leave their dead Bodies to be mummied in the Sands: Nor does this proceed from Heat alone, but the Seas nearness, which now furrs the Shore with discoloured Foam, poysons the Air as well as its own Inhabitants by its Corruption, staining the Strand with Mossy Green, and evaporating thence a Noysome Scent, by the putrifying of Fish left dead at the Ebbing Tides. Whence the Air breeds Insects, their

[1] Jenneting, pomme de Saint-Jean, St John's apple: an early apple or pear (*New Eng. Dict. s.v.*). For Persian fruits, including apples and pears, see Wills, *Land of the Lion and Sun*, 171. Miss Sykes (*Across Persia on a Side-saddle*, 89) describes the pears as hard and flavourless.

Water-stores grow unwholesome, and a languid Habit seizes Human Bodies, disposing them, though not to Scurvies, yet something analogous thereto; for few escape without depascent Ulcers feeding on their Limbs, which creep out into long Worms our Idioms hardly find a fit Name for, unless we may reckon them a-kin to Wolfs, *κόμη*, *Phagadænæ*, or *Cacoëthicks*[1].

Upon their first appearance they carry with them the presence of Imposthumations, but presently after suppuration a long white Filament like a small Gut comes forth, which gently caught by the Head is wound on a tender Twig, which while it increases is turned round, and fed with Rose Water, by a Clout dipped therein to keep it moist, lest becoming dry it should dye; this by Congestion of Humours causes great Pain, and as long as it continues, the Part affected swells into an huge Tumor; and if by chance the Worm be broken or ill handled, that it come not entirely forth, it breaks out in other places with more severe Symptoms; wherefore great Care is taken to bring it out whole, lest it should reduce the Patient to a worse Condition: It is rebellious to all common Medicines, and must be nourished with Milk and Butter, or else a Poultice of the Patient's own Ordure.

At this time also the Pullen fare but ill, a Pest among

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[1] The Guinea worm (*rīshtah*) infests the shores of the Gulf. At Bushire "a large reservoir to collect rain-water was built on the sea-front some years ago by a native merchant...but its contents were found to be infected with the *reshta* or guinea-worm, which two hundred years ago was complained of by Chardin (*Voyages*, ed. Langles, viii, 470 ff.) and Kaempfer (*Amoen. Exot.* 525–535) as tainting the water supply along the Gulf-coast" (Curzon, ii, 234). Tavernier contracted this pest at Lar, and when he returned to Paris, "I had one worm out of my left foot an Ell and a half long, and another under the ankle of my right foot half an Ell long" (p. 254). For this plague in the East see Herbert, 128: Manucci, i, 58: Bernier, 355: Hamilton, *New Account*, i, 42: Vámbéry, *Travels*, 182: Schuyler, *Turkistan*, i, 147: Hedges, *Diary*, i, 233: Sleeman, *Rambles*, ii, 94: Tod, *Annals of Rajasthan*, ii, 362: Tennent, *Ceylon*[3], i, 245.

them killing them without the help of Cookery; nor do the *Persians* care much for eating of them; whether suspicious of the Ill Practice of their own Nation, who fancy Diseases gotten of Prostitutes are drawn out by buggering of them, or out of any other Superstition, as that Worms and Scorpions are bred in their Guts, I know not; yet this is certain, they are often found to dye suddenly.

Here, if the Subtilty of the Enquiry could discover any thing to find the Reason of this Slaughter, 'twould be worth the while; but a simple Putrefaction must not bear the blame, for then all living Creatures would fall under the like Fatality, as well Sheep and other Cattle, as these; 'tis necessary therefore some more secret and peculiar Cause should be rendred; which seems to be fairly hinted at by *Virgil:*

> *Hic quondam morbo Cœli, miseranda coorta est*
> *Tempestas, totoque Autumno incanduit æstas:*
> *Et genus omne neci pecudum dedit omne ferarum,*
> *Corrupitque Lacus, infecit pabula tabo*[1].
>
> Here once the Air infected, did beget
> A Plague which rag'd through the Autumnal Heat;
> All kind of Cattel and of Wild Beasts di'd,
> The Grass was tainted, Rivers putrifi'd.

Which whether it be done by the Influence of the Stars, or disposition of Particles, I dispute not. Certain it is, the Sun by its Ecliptick Motion determines generally the various Seasons of the Year, as Summer, Winter, Autumn, and the Spring; yet all Summers are not equally hot and dry, nor do all Winters share of the like Cold and Moisture; whereupon some Summers bring Swarms of Flies and

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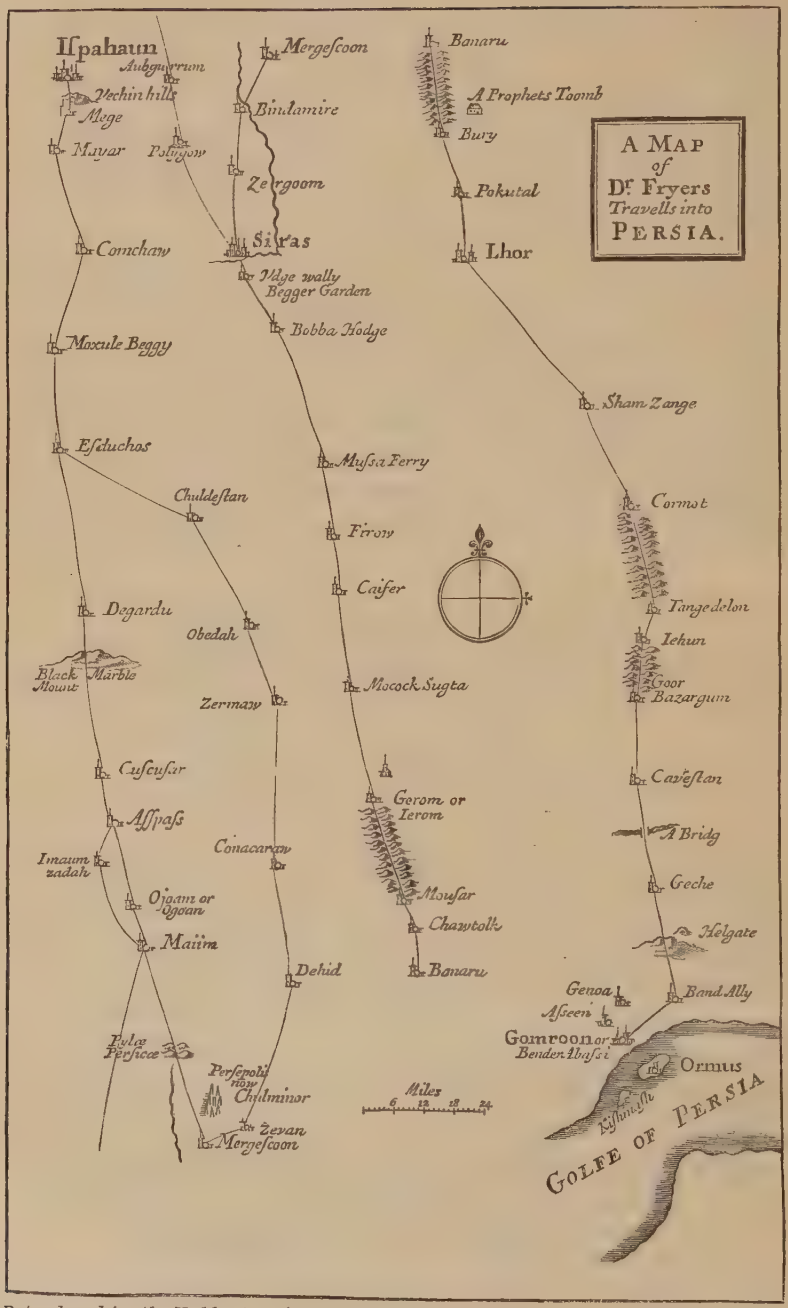
[1] Virgil, *Georg.* iii, 478–481. Fryer, as is often the case, quotes *memoriter.* The first two lines should read:

> *Hic quondam morbo caeli miseranda coorta est*
> *Tempestas totoque autumni incanduit aestu.*



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Gnats, others are clear from them; and on this account is it so many Armies of Locusts have invaded these Quarters (which though often, is not perpetual), that they have devoured all things as they bud, unless where the Husbandmen have drove them away by Fire; so that I am willing to incline to the unaccustomed Alterations of this Year, which by the more constant blowing of the *South* Winds has filled the Air with a longer time of Moisture, and thereby impressed something more Mortal by some unwonted Conjunction of Planets, than other Years: For these *South-East* Winds as they are the most unhealthy, so used they to be the least durable; but hitherto they have hovered with Clouds without Rain, and kept off the *Northern* hot ones, which restore Health to the too hasty perspiring Spirits by the dewy *Southern* Gales.

CHAP. II.

Our setting forth from Gombroon, *and leaving* Lhor.

AT last the Heavens drop Fatness, and the Showers refresh the Earth, and fill the Tanks with purer Water, washing away the old Filth and Nastiness contracted by the former indispositions of the Seasons.

And now we having this Opportunity, set forward towards the Evening of the 28th of *June*, the Ships in the Road Saluting us, and the Merchants, both *French* and *Dutch*, Conducting us onward of our Way, with Pomp and Ceremony, till we came to the Garden out of the City, where we entertained them with a Sumptuous Treat, and took our Leaves; they returning to *Gombroon*, and we going on Three *Pharsangs* that Night to *Band Ally*[1],

[1] Band 'Alī, "the embankment of 'Alī," about 9 miles S.W. of Bandar 'Abbās. "The first night (from Gombroon) we rode to

Inhabited only by Poor People, in pitiful Cabbins covered with the Palm-Tree Boughs, by the Sea-side, expecting Profit, as well by Strangers as by Fishery; these Houses are placed on Wheels, to draw up and down at their Pleasure.

Band Ally is the *Chast Ally*[1], to whom this *Caravan Seraw* is Dedicated, in the same manner as we our Churches and places Sacred, to our Saints in Commemoration of them· *Caravan Seraw*, signifies no more than an Inn, *viz. Ser*, the Head, *Raw*, of the Way[2].

For this Journy we have no Wains for our Baggage, or Chariots for our selves; we Ride on Horseback, and our Sumpters are Loaded on Mules, Asses, or Camels, which march toward Evening and Travel till Morning; We go but slowly by reason of our Beasts of Burthen, though a greater part of them were dispatched a Month before us by another Road, less Mountainous, though farther about.

Coming to our Inns, we have no Host, or Young Damosels to bid us Welcome, nor other Furniture than Bare Walls; no Rooms Swept, nor Cleanly Entertainment, Tables neatly Spred, or Maidens to Attend with Voice or Lute to Exhilarate the Weary Passenger; but instead of these, Apartments covered with Dung and Filth; Musick indeed there is of Humming Gnats pricking us to

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Bandally, sixteene English miles (and most part along the Gulph)" (Herbert, 124). "A league and a half from Guitchi [Gachin] you meet with two roads, one upon the left hand that seems more beaten, the other upon the right. There a man may easily be deceiv'd that has no guides. For the left-hand way is a dangerous passage, and a kind of continu'd Labyrinth among Rocks and Precipices. The right-hand way which is the best is all upon the sand to *Bander-Abassi*, and is usually a day's journey. You meet with two Inns by the way, the last of which is *Bend-Ali*, built by the sea-side. From *Bend-Ali* to *Bander-Abassi* is but a little more than two leagues through a Country abounding in Palm-trees" (Tavernier, 255).

[1] He means 'Alī revered by the Shī'ah sect.

[2] This derivation of *Sarāī* will not hold water. Platts (*Hind. Dict. s.v.*) derives *Sarā* from Zend *thrāiti*, root *thrā* "house."

keep an unwilling Measure to their Comfort: So that here is neither Provision for Man or Beast, only an open House, with no enlivening Glass of Pontack, or Poinant Cheer to encourage the Badness of the March; but every Four or Five *Pharsangs, i. e. Parasangæ*, a *German* League, on the King's High way, a *Caravan Ser Raw*, as dirty as *Augeus* his Stable, those before always leaving the next comer work enough to cleanse where they have been; that after coming in Tired, they are more intent to spread their Carpets for Repose, than remove the incrustated Cake of Sluttery, the constant Nursery of Flies and Beetles, they often bringing their Horses into the same Bed-Chamber.

These Houses Built by Charitable Persons, are always supplied with Tanks and Cisterns, which now run over since yesterdays Rain, and are commonly very Fine and Costly; but other Commodities we must bring with us, otherwise we are likely not only to go to Bed on the bare Ground, but depart more Hungry than we came thither (very few Places maintaining Sutlers for Horse-meat, or Diet for the Wayfaring Man): Therefore when we undertake this Journy, we carry not only all our Family, but Housholdstuff too; for which every one has a separate Allowance for his Servant and his Baggage, and a Butler in common, who Mounts the *Trojan* Horse, supplied with Bread, Wine, Salt, Cold Meat, Knives and Napkins for the *Viaticum*, in Two Canisters[1], or Chests hung on each side one, under whose Belly is girt a *Metarrah*[2], or Goat Skin full of Wine, and another of Water; a *Metarrah* full of the latter every one ties to his Horses Saddle, in the fashion of a Leathern Bottel, and a Silver Toss[3], or Cup, in a Case at

[1] See vol. i, 316.

[2] See *Ibid.* i, 335.

[3] Ar. Pers. *tās*, "a cup." At Surat "All the Dishes and Plates brought to the Table are of pure Silver, massy and Substantial; and such likewise are the Tosses or Cups out of which we drink" (Ovington, 396 f.).

the Bow of the Saddle: In the middle of the *Munsel*[1] (*i. e.* a whole Day's Journy) the Butler alights, and by some advantageous Brook, or Tank, spreads a Table on the Ground, while the whole *Caphala* refresh: (We generally make our *Munsel* from Four in the Afternoon till before Four in the Morning) when after a Glass of Wine, and the Fragments of yesterdays Provisions, we betake our selves to Rest with much eagerness, if it be possible among so many strange Customs at first; as Noise of Carriers Bells, Feeding, Neighing, Breying, and Noise of so many Creatures, Loading and Unloading, with the Singing, Chatting, and Din of Servants, Horse-keepers and Muliteers; but Custom makes all things familiar and easy, that we generally Repose till Two the next Day; when our Cook has provided not only our Dinner (which is as Sumptuous as if at Home, and brought in with the same Order) but furthermore, our necessary Provant for the ensuing Day's Journy; and after this manner are we fitted to measure out our future Hardships.

Hither the *Banyans*, or *English* Brokers, Accompanied us, they taking their Leave for the Port, we keeping on our Course, Three *Englishmen* with our Retinue answerable to the Quality of each; we had with us Twenty Camels for Lumber, Fifteen Horses, Three Mules, and Two Asses, besides Three *Shotters*[2] for our Guides, which are the only

[1] Ar. *manzil*, "descending and alighting," a day's march (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 599). "Our Harbinger...would be sure...at every place where we made our Manzeel or rest, to provide us good lodging" (Herbert, 129).

[2] Ar. *shâtir*, "one who withdraws from and injures his friends," hence "astute, roguish": in Pers. used in the sense of a "messenger, courier, running footman." Morier (*First Journey*, 37) calls them *Chattar*. "The King and the Lords have no *Chatres*, but what are masters; which degree they are not to arrive at without some Ceremony and performing a Race like our *Jemmy* and the Butcher of *Croydon*" (Tavernier, 150). They were obliged to prove their speed in a race of 108 miles from a pillar at the 'Alī Kapī Gate of Ispahan. In modern times they wear white stockings, green knee-breeches, a red coat with large skirts and green breast-facings, and a tall erection

Men here also, who wear Plumes of Feathers in their Turbats, small Bells about their Wastes, Truncheons in their Hands, Horse-Cloaths over their Shoulders richly Embroidered on Scarlet, Packthread Shoes on their Feet, and close Jerkins with Breeches below their Knees; these are our Guides, and hold our Horses while we Mount, look after them and the Equipments, as Bridles and Furniture, (the most mean of which are Silver) when we alight; and are not only swift, but lasting Footmen.

Beginning to set forward, neither Tract nor Road was followed, all being covered with Sand; but our Guides steered by their own Experience; this was not so comfortable, to behold nothing but a Sea of Sand; for now we began to turn our back upon the Gulf, and steer a more *Northern* Course, from whence to reflect what Sustenance this barren Earth could produce, that, should our Stores fail, we might want; yet even for this Jealousy we had not the least shadow of Reason, for had we been less provided we might have met with Plenty, every one striving to Vend us Necessaries, to the no small encrease of my amazement how they came by them.

After we had waded through Two *Pharsangs* of this Desolate Way, we began to Clamber up those Hills, which seem hanging over the Road of *Gombroon*, now beating the Hoof on more solid Rocks: In this Passage we could here and there descry some Groves of Palms, whose Fruit were tinctured with a Cherry Red, the constant forerunner of their full Maturity; at which time they look for the same Unhealthiness we do in our Autumn; though I find

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on the head, surmounted by a sort of coloured crest like a cock's comb. In their hands they carry a staff or wand. Curzon describes it as "an apparent cross between that of a liveried servant and a harlequin at a pantomime." It is a faithful reproduction of that worn in the time of the Safavi kings. Similar footmen were employed by Musalmān princes in India (Elliot, *H. of India*, iii, 576). For the Shātir see Curzon, i, 332 f.: Morier, *Second Journey*, 137: Wills, 256, 370.

them not so superstitiously addicted to Symbols, as the *Egyptians* to their Hieroglyphicks, they express the Year by this Tree; because this Tree, say they, of all others alone (which I before noted of the Coco-Nut Tree, and therefore I think it a kind of Palm) at every appearance of the New Moon procreates a fresh Branch, by which Twelve Productions the whole Year is resembled and compleated[1]; the Trees are Tall and Slender, bearing their Boughs all atop, like a shady Tuft, some standing bolt upright, and others spread abroad, with others flagging and ready to give way to the Birth of more; when they are Young and in their Infancy, they no sooner sprout up but the prickly Leafs guard its tender Head, which is of a pithy substance, and when Wounded spoils the Trees Growth, so that it Dies; but while it escapes that danger, it rises by degrees after the former Order, the under Branches bowing Archwise to their upstart Youngsters; the Leafs are set in Rows like Ribs to a great Spine, arising from a Circular Base, till it end in a sharp Point; under these Boughs the mighty Branches hang full of Dates in Clusters, and which is more than *say so*,

> *The more they'r Burthened better do they Thrive,*
> *Like depress'd Virtue better kept alive.*

So patient under great Loads of this Fruit, that they seem to rejoyce with a more chearful Verdure, and unconcerned reject the withered Boughs, whilst a more lively Product makes them glad by a new Succession; by which means it keeps Green the whole Course of the Year.

Nor when the old ones fall, are these only fit for the Fire; for they being orderly laid, and finely Gilded or Painted between the Beams of the same Wood, supply the Ceilings and other adornments of their best Houses;

[1] Fryer elsewhere (vol. i, 41) makes the same statement regarding the coco-nut tree. The monthly growth of the palm-tree is also noted by Manucci (iii, 185), and by Pyrard de Laval (ii, 375).

nor are they less serviceable to Thatch their meaner Cottages: The Trunk being deprived of those Combings, from the main Head is beheld a flourishing Peruke of Palms, fit to be worn by the greatest Heroes; from whence downwards without any Sprouts, it appears all in Coat of Mail Cap-a-pee, or like a Pine-Apple from its scaly Structure, caused by the falling of the precedent Branches, by which compactness it emulates its Conelike Figure.

Of these Trees there are Male and Female, and which is worthy our Notice, the Female Palms (which only Bear) will not Bring forth before they are Impregnated at the Roots with the Seed of the Male, first pounded into Meal and sprinkled about them; which how true I dispute not; but certainly Tradition has confirmed the Practice, and they are not to be persuaded to neglect the Custom[1].

In the midst of this Days *Munsel*, among the Mountains we passed by the Mouth of an horrid Cave[2]; where they entertain Travellers with Tragick Stories, and a Legend of Fables, as that it is the Road to Hell; for, say they, whoever Enters never Returns; as if thence had arose the Proverb, *No Redemption from the Shades*; or that of the Poet,

> —— *Facilis descensus Averni*;
> *Sed revocare gradus, hic labor, hoc opus est*[3].
>
> Easy the Descent's to Hell, but back again
> Our steps to call, this is the Work, the Pain.

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[1] The date palm (*phoenix dactylifera*) is impregnated by the pollen of the male tree, which is inserted in the flower of the female. The flowers of one male tree are sufficient to fecundate about thirty females (Curzon, i, 260 f. : Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, 302). Prof. E. B. Tylor (*Babylonian and Oriental Record*, iv, 64 ff., 89 ff.) first identified the process with that depicted on a bas-relief from Nimrūd in the British Museum (D'Alviella, *The Migration of Symbols*, 145 ff.: Maspero, *Dawn of Civ.*, 356 f., with a drawing of the monument). Also see *Imperial Gazetteer* (1908), vi, 296: Watt, *Econ. Dict.*, vi, Pt I, 202 f.: *Mishcat-ul-Masabih*, tr. Matthews, i, 46.

[2] This cave does not seem to be mentioned by other travellers, not even by Tavernier, who passed this way. Fryer, as usual, exaggerates the difficulties of mountain travel.

[3] This and the following quotation are from Virgil, *Aen.* vi, 126 ff.

But it stuck not on my Fancy, who had been informed of Pleasanter Stages on that Journy, and an higher way to more open Doors.

——— *Patet Atri janua Ditis.*

Hell Gate wide open stands.

But it may more probably be an Invention to fright Passengers into the right Way, and that they should avoid, by so sad and terrible a Remark, the wrong, which would wilder them in an unlucky Maze; for here the Way was not only Intricate but Difficult; whereby I was encouraged to auspicate a more Cœlestial Path might lead us to *Getche*[1], in the *Turkish* Language signifying a *Goat* Village; which was on Wheels, as the other, being not Twenty Miles distant; it is in a Sandy Valley full of Shrubs, on which the Camels Feed, but the Asses, Mules, and Horses, on Barly and chopt Straw; [the *Persians* learn'd the *Indians* how to Treat their Horses; where having declared the manner, I forbear here, it being exactly the same] for these Eight or Nine *Munsels* they care not to House them, but only Cover them with *Yawpengees*[2],

[1] Geche in Fryer's map is Gachin, 12 miles E. of Band 'Alī. "Next night we got to *Gacheen*, five farsangs further [from Band 'Alī]" (Herbert, 125). From the great Bridg to Guitchi is one of the most pleasant countries in all *Persia*, being a continu'd Grove. Guitchi is a place accommodated with two Inns, one a very fine one and convenient: the other very badly seated, by reason of the dust that continually annoys it standing upon a sandy ground" (Tavernier, 255). Elsewhere (48) he calls it Guetchy. "Traversing a desert valley bounded on north and south by low hills of grey marl, the scattered village of Gachin is reached, surrounded by date groves" (Wilson, *Geog. Journ.* xxxi (1903), 153.

[2] *yāpanjī*, "a coat used in rainy weather" (Calcutta *Chagatai Dict.*), in which sense it is found in the *Āīn* (i, 89). "Besides these 'balaposh' or overcoats, is the 'yapunjah,' or woollen Kurdish cloak. This is a kind of felt, having a shaggy side, of immense thickness. It looks like a bear-skin, and is of great weight. It is a half-circle in shape; a strap at the neck holds it on. The wearer, generally a shepherd, uses it as a great coat, bed and bedding. The thing is worn slung, closed side to the wind, and is used as a shield against the wind or snow" (Wills, 319). Lady Sheil (*Sketches*, 43) speaks of Cossacks wearing "their yaponchas, a short cloak of goat-skin, with long hair, moveable round the neck to face the wind and rain from any quarter."

or Horse-Cloths, and expose them to the open Air; which is not so Unhealthy for them, as for Human Bodies, who carefully prevent such Lodgings for fear of Aches, and other Inconveniences incident thereupon; wherefore in the middle of the Vale we repaired to the *Caravan Ser Raw*, almost buried in the Sand, it being the only obstacle to their rowling Billows.

The next Morn we were waited on by the Country Women bringing us Cheese, and Butter made before our Eyes, with no other Churn than a Goatskin, in which they shook the Milk till Butter came[1]; Fish, Roots, and Herbs, with all sorts of Pullen: In these Two *Munsels* we only meet with these Servitors, in other Places Men appear alone, not allowing their Women that Freedom; but were they no more tempting than these Swains, they'd have small cause for the Restriction; for they are Strapping Sunburnt Lasses, with little more Cloaths on than a dark coloured Smock, or Frock; and for their Meen it is not enticing; these bring us Water to Drink out of their Tanks, newly filled, which was Thick, Troubled, and Slimy; for which reason the Vapours, or rather Fumes from the Sun's violence, were very Offensive, and the more irksome, because we were constrained to tarry here another Night, for that the River *Rute Conna Shure*[2]; or Salt-Water, was now overflown by the Waters falling from the Mountains beyond the Banks to that excess, that it could not be Forded by Travellers, and the Stream ran with that Rapidness, that it was unsafe to venture over till the descending Cataracts

[1] In Khorasān "the Churn simply consisted of a goat skin hung on a tripod and filled with milk. The Koordish maiden sitting on one side caught the tail (as it were) of the skin, and gave it even forward and backward jerks as long as it might be necessary" (MacGregor, *Journey*, ii, 103, with a drawing).

[2] The Shor or Salt river, falling into the entrance of the Gulf from the north in Clarence Straits, opposite the island of Kishm. Rūd-khānah, "river channel," is the Pers. term for a mountain-bed river (Goldsmid, *Telegraph and Travel*, 593).

had left off pouring on the overswell'd Brinks, and emptied themselves into the wider Gulf, not many Leagues distant hence.

The Day after, as soon as we heard the Waters were abated, we set forward, and found it true what had been reported (Three *Caphala*'s not daring to pass the Lake, where they had lain some Days, till we had led the way). It was sultry Hot when we assayed to go, but Delays in this case were dangerous; besides, we were uncertain whether it would hold up should we tarry, which made us confide on our Guides, who gave us assurance, that the Marshes were passable; we were more troubled with Waves of Sand than Water, both which, by Rain, or Wind, keep on their course with some noise till silenced in the *Persian* Gulf.

Athwart this Fen, which was upward of Three Miles, was Built not long since, as by the Modern Architecture may be guessed, a stately Stone Bridge with Arches, on which high Banisters with Niches, and a brave paved Cawsey Elegantly Built, which kept pace with us, but by the Negligence of these People, as well as Injury of Floods and Sands, it was broke down in several places, especially where the Torrent made the deepest Channel, so that though firm and strong in the greatest part of it, yet by its being ruined in the most needful, it is become impassable; and though a Work of extraordinary Benefit and Charge, yet already rendred of little Use[1].

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[1] "On the north bank of the river [Shor], about half a mile from the road, will be seen two bridges, each of about forty arches, of stone, and still almost intact. The river has long ago changed its bed, and left the bridges standing useless on the bank" (Wilson, *op. cit.* 154). Tavernier (254 f.) gives a long description of this bridge, "built by a *Persian*, whose name was *Aly*: who wanting employment at home, apply'd himself to the King of *Golconda*, who lik'd him so well, that he made him General of his Army. Being thus advanc'd, he also turn'd Merchant, and trading first with one vessel, then with two, got a great estate."

The rest of this day's Journy was between the Mountains, where we were encounter'd by strange Flashes of Lightning, the Foretellers of this Night's Rain, which we hardly escaped before we came to *Caurestan*[1], in all Twenty Miles: This *Caravan Ser Raw* is named from a Tree growing here, and a Village properly so called (of which it is a Composition in *Persian*), it being the first we met with whose Houses were fixed.

The following Day we continued going between two Chains of Dry and Burnt Hills, through a stony Valley, not without fear of suffocating, although it was near Evening e're we set out, and Yesterday's Showers had benignly distilled on the Fiery Drought, to cool the parched Earth: But this is the dreadful Vale, where when the Hot *North* Winds blow at this time, it sweeps both Men and Beasts away, either by Night or Day, the Heat being as intense and as intolerable as that from the Mouth of an Oven[2]: We were conducted through this Furnace by the Divine Protection (without being put to make use of the common Remedy in this Exigency, which is, upon perceiving of the hot Blasts, to cast our selves flat on the Ground till they are over, thereby to prevent the Fate attending those who refuse to stoop to this known Prescription, which is, to fall down dead, never to rise more alive), till we were

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[1] Kuristān, about 12 miles E. of the bridge. The place has been described by Wilson (*op. cit.* 154 ff.). Herbert (125) calls it Cowrestan. "*Caavrestan*...famous for water-melons, as big as our pumpkins, and are the best in all *Persia*. The Meat is very red and as sweet as Sugar, which is a great refreshment to Travellers" (Tavernier, 254).

[2] The dangerous effects of the Simoom (Ar. *samūm*) are noticed by Marco Polo (i, 109, with Yule's note): Burton (*Pilgrimage*, i, 265): Palgrave (*Central and E. Arabia*, 11 f.). Tavernier (256), writing of Gombroon, says: "March being pass'd the wind changes, and blowing at west south west, in a short time it grows so hot and so stifling, that it almost takes away a man's breath. This wind is by the *Arabians* called *El-Samiel*, or the poysonous wind, and by the *Persians Bade Sambour*, because it suffocates and kills presently. The flesh of those that are thus stifl'd feels like a glewie fat, and as if they had been dead a month before."

mounted where these two Chains are linked to each other, and by their mutual Ascent we were lift up on high, and then gently descending we were led down to *Goorbazergum*[1], Fifteen miles from *Caurestan.*

In this Bottom is a solitary Inn, very commodiously seated; it is surrounded with Mountains, at whose Bottoms are store of Water-Melons, a grateful Cooler in this Extremity of Heat: *Goor-Bazergum* is as it were to say, *The Merchants Grave,* in the *Persian* Tongue.

Hence up Hill and down Hill, through broken Rocks and unsteady Stones, through kindled Fires from sulphurious Caverns, and the more raging effects of the burning Orb, enlightening and enlivening all the World beside[2]; here it kills and consumes the un-nurtur'd Plants, leaving them dry and sapless; as if these great Heaps of Rocks were made for no other end but to counterpoize the more Fruitful Part of this Terrestrial Globe; insomuch that it had been utterly impossible to have drawn Breath in this Place, had not the late unusual Rain something allayed the Fury of the Heats, which yet were troublesome enough by reason of the steaming Mists arising boiling hot with the Sun; which so late in the Year are by the most Ancient of this Country esteemed so far out of course, that their Memory fails them to relate the like.

Nor do the Publick Roads deny the Calamity of these *Munsels*, which are frequently strewed with Bones of labouring Beasts, expiring under their Burthens, many of which were fresh Examples of this Truth, lying reeking Carkasses

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[1] Pers. Gor-i-Bāzargān: not marked in modern maps. Tavernier (254) calls it Gourba-Sarghant. "It was built with the money which a Merchant of *Ormus* left for that purpose; whose strength fail'd him at that very place, for want of a resting place."

[2] "From Kuristan to Birkeh Nuh the road, slowly ascending, traverses a barren narrow valley, uninhabited, and hedged in on either side by high ridges which separate it from even more desolate expanses" (Wilson, *op. cit.* 156).

in our Way from *Goor Bazergum* to *Jehun*[1], which is but Twelve Miles, where we were forced to stay to get more Camels, for Three had failed us in this Conflict; and afterwards with much Pain we measured six Miles more to *Tangedelon*[2], where we eased our selves at a *Caravan Ser Raw*, near a Stream of living Water sweetly gliding through the middle of it, and wash'd the Dust off our sweaty Bodies, in a Tank contrived to make a pleasant Bath under the Roof of the *Seraw*.

Tangedelon expresses in its Mothers Speech, *A Strait Passage*, which hits exactly with the following *Munsel*; for we travelled long under hollowed Mountains, whose lofty Rocks hung over our Heads, threatning to stop our Career, which after Twenty Rocky Miles directed us to *Cormoot*[3], a Town of Dates, *Cormoot* being a Date, *κατ' ἐξοχὴν*.

Thus far we came directly in a Line; now we wander to and again in the Meanders of the Barren Hills, with indefatigable Industry, till we descend into a large Plain,

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[1] In the Jihun plain "a splendid supply of water from a *Kanat* and several palm trees combine to delight the traveller, who will have had to content himself for the past week with the treeless camping-grounds and water of a most indifferent quality" (*Ibid.* 156 f.).

[2] "The Tang-i-Dalan is a narrow gorge through which the Hajamal river flows" (*Ibid.* 157). "Next [after Cowrestan] to Tanghy-Dolon (*i.e.*, a narrow way) praiseworthy in her Lodge or Carravans-raw, but especially in the sweet Crystallin water we found there" (Herbert, 125). "The distinction between *Dahaneh* and *Teng*, both Persian words applied to passes, is strictly as follows: *Dahaneh* is the span or pass lying between two hills; *Teng* is a narrow defile between vertical walls of rock" (Curzon, i, 123 *n.*).

[3] Hormuz, the town, not the better known island. For the change of form compare Marco Polo's Formosa or Carmosa for Harmuza (3rd ed. i, 115). Herbert (125) writes: "Our next daies travell was to *Whormoot*, eleven farsangs (thirty-three miles), where we found a black pavillion: in it three old Arabians; who, out of their Alcoran ingeminated a doleful requiem to their Brother's carcasse, over which they sat." Tavernier (254) calls it Cormout, "a great village well stor'd with Palm-trees. From *Lar* to *Cormout* is the worst way in all *Persia*." Herbert says "Whormoote (a Town of Dates)" (133), like Fryer, connecting the name with Pers. *khurmah*, "a date."

at the End whereof *Sham Zangee*[1] an *Abassin*, had built an old Caravan, Twenty Miles from *Cormoot*; where we met a *Caphala* of light Asses going for the Port; and here we were obliged to change more of our Camels, they being quite tired.

In this Plain the Heats increased upon us so, that we could not touch the Walls but they were like Fire, the Winds that should refresh us were ready to inflame us, nor was any thing cool but the Water, which they had kept in Earthen Vessels dipped in their Wells or Tanks, where being drowned they came up shivering cold, which was all the Comfort we received here; wherefore at Sun-set we made for *Lhor*, choaked with Dust and Heat; half-way, at a new *Caravan*[2] *Ser Raw*, we encountred three *Caphalaes* laden with Dry Fruit for the Port: This was founded by the Overseer of the Building of the Long-Bridge over the Lake leading to the Gulph, who raised himself thereby, and begins (though covetous in other things) to bestow his Mony on these Works, having laid the Foundation for another at *Sham Zangee.*

From this Place to *Lhor* the Ground is more Even, and fit for Cultivation, the Husbandmen having planted their Cottages along the Valley, on each side of a gliding Brook, here and there beset with *Tamerisk* Trees.

About Nine in the Morning we came to *Lhor*, near Forty Mile from *Sham Zangee.* The *Hollanders* have here a neat, but small Dwelling, whither their Commodore comes sometimes[3]: In this we designed to have worn some

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[1] Shamsangī. "I lodg'd at a little Inn call'd *Shamzenghi.* It is low, built like a Cross, with four doors to receive the cool winds every way" (Tavernier, 254). For the route, see Wilson, *op. cit.* 158.

[2] This was perhaps Tang-i-Nāo. "From Tang-i-Nao to Lar is a dreary march of sixteen miles over a flat alluvial plain, bounded on each side by barren mountains" (Wilson, 158).

[3] "There are but two Inns in *Lar*; the one within the City, which is not a very good one; the other, at the end of the City, towards *Ormus*, which would be convenient but that it is always afloat when

days away, but neither the Heat nor *Musquitoes* would let us rest long in this City; wherefore desiring to fly from these, we changed our Camels for Mules, that we might make better speed than these slow Animals would endure; for these intemperate Seats were too hot for us, so that the same Afternoon we mounted, and on Horseback saw the remaining part of the City leading us on our Way. The Road from *Bunder* to it is spacious and open, through a pleasant Campaign for near Twenty Miles, the Mountains observing a modest distance on that side, although behind it is begirt with enough for defence; at top of which is a notable Seat, fit for a Castle, being of difficult Access, from whence those that approach, may hear the Thundring Cannons roar among the Valleys, which were most taken from the *Portugals* in their being beaten out of the Gulph.

Lhor is a City of an Ancient Date, and still retains its Name, which for that it was so guarded by Nature that it could not easily be conquered, held many Ages the Majesty of a Kingdom; but now it is governed by a Puritanical *Caun* (for that he has visited *Mahomet*'s Tomb) under the *Persian* Emperor; yet still it extends its self far in its Province, reaching almost to *Bunder Abassee*, and has two eminent Ports tending to the Mouth of *Euphrates*, viz. *Bunder Congo*[1] and *Bunder Reek*[2], with half the Pearl-fishing, divided between the *Arab* and *Persian*. He is in

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the Rains fall; for which reason the *Franks* generally lie at the *Hollanders* House at the end of the City" (Tavernier, 253). Camels, he says, are always changed here, "every City having their particular priviledges."

[1] Bandar Kangūn, a port on the W. shore of the Gulf, about 100 miles W. of Gombroon (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 246: Curzon, ii, 406).

[2] Bandar Rig, "a small port situated further to the south [of Bandar Dilam], on a creek into which one of the mouths of the Shapur or Rohillah River enters the sea" (Curzon, ii, 402). This river seems to be the Rhogonis of the Periplus (McCrindle, 215). "Banderrick, another sea-port town, and may be seen plainly from the sea; but the bay is shallow so far off, that a ship cannot come within three

such Vogue at Court for his Probity, that his Neighbour *Caun* was ordered to submit to his Judgment, before whose Tribunal he appeared to answer the Crimes objected to him in his Government.

However he is not so great a Bigot as to abstract himself wholly from the Pleasures of this World, so as to deny himself his Paradise here: For his Palaces shew not only studious Contrivances, but are Luxurious both for inward Furniture and outward Beauty, with which Pleasures he oftner indulges himself than he is at Leisure for Publick Affairs.

Before his Palaces a Foursquare Piatzo takes in a large Space of Ground, with Gates to every Quarter; over which his loud Musick are placed, either to entertain Strangers, or by their Noise to give the Time of the Day at every Three or Four Hours: At the Gate entring the Palace is a constant Guard: Within are stately Apartments, with Lakes and Gardens, equal to the *Roman* Pride in its Age of Wantonness; but so much the more to be extoll'd, by how much more this Soil is incompatible with the *Italian* Mold.

Structuræ magnificæ undique Latius
Extructa visuntur Lucrino,
Stagna Lacu, populosque vitis
Evincit altas: Tum Violaria &
Myrtus & omnia copia narum
Spargentque pometis odorem.
Fertilibus Frugibusque electis
Aurantiorum spissior igneos
Excludit ictus, arbor & foliis
Fragrantis Hesperi Poma——
Auspicij pariens secunda[1].

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leagues of it: however, it has a pretty good inland trade, by reason of its vicinity to Shyrash, the second town in Persia for magnitude, from whence it is but six days' journey for beasts of carriage" (A. Hamilton, *New Account*, i, 91).

[1] *undique latius*
Extenta visentur Lucrino
Stagna lacu: platanusque coelebs

Magnifick Buildings shortly will allow
Few Acres of firm Land unto the Plough.
Now may be seen huge Pools to make,
Of much more wide Extent than *Lucrin* Lake.
The solitary Plane the Vine supplants,
Nor any Flower sweet Odours breathing, wants;
As Myrtle, Roses, and the Violet,
Where the first Owner fertile Date-Trees set.
The Orange now to *Phœbus* piercing Eye,
Through his thick Branches Passage doth deny.

Besides all these, there is an Exchange, or *Burse*, full of Wares, in the Figure of a Cross, reared with polished Stone on a large Area before the Duke's House[1].

The Water in use for the common People is chiefly Rain; wherefore the Cisterns are more costly than in other Places; of the same Figure as at *Gombroon*, only some few are tubilated and built of Mud.

Many Merchants possess Princely Edifices in this Town, it being a Place of some considerable Trade both Inland, and from the several Ports.

The Earth is productive of Sulphur, whose Chymical Spirit is extracted here, and is preferable to any other, I never having met with more refined Brimstone; they generally distil it *per Campanam.*

The *Bezoar*-Stone[2] is purchased at this Mart, being said to be found in the Stomach of the Mountain-Goats hereabouts, occasioned by some Plant they delight to feed on,

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Evincet ulmos: tum violaria et
Myrtus et omnis copia narium,
Spargent olivetis odorem
Fertilibus domino priori;
Tum spissa ramis laurea fervidos
Excludet ictus.

Horace, *Carm.* ii, xv, 2–10.

[1] The great old market, in the shape of "four equal arms radiating from a circular and domed centre" is described by Stack (*Six Months in Persia*, i, 143) as desolate. It has since been repaired and occupied, and a splendid cistern, which Stack found in ruins, has also been restored (Wilson, *op. cit.* 158).

[2] See vol. ii, 141.

to which they attribute its Growth: On which Subject more may be seen in *Bontius* Junior's Animadversions on the Second and Sixth Paragraph of *Garcius ab Ortâ:* Whose Words are to this Effect;

'This Stone I find not only to be generated in *Persia*, 'but also in other Parts of the World; and because none as 'I know of before my self have given the true *Etymon* or 'Derivation of this Stone, or how it grows, hear the Busi- 'ness in a few Words.

'The *Persians* then call this Stone *Pazahar*, being a 'Compound of *Pa* and *Zahar*, the first of which is *against*, 'the other is *Poyson*; as much as if you should say in *Greek*, '*Antidoton*, in *English*, Counter-Poyson.

'It grows after this manner; there is a Place in *Persia* 'called *Stebanon*, as *Bontius* writes, the *Persians Shabanat*[1], 'Three Days Journey beyond *Lhor*, in whose Fields there 'springs up an Herb like Saffron and Hermodactyls, on 'which the Flocks of Goats (or Sheep) feed, and by their 'eating thereof these Stones concrete and become an hard 'Substance; but I suspend my Vote, whether in the 'Stomach, Reins, or Bladder: However, that Belief may 'be gained for any of these, seeing them halt and complain 'as much as Men under the same distress, would more 'than incline the most incredulous. They are not, says he, 'unlike the *Europe* Goats, only they have longer and 'straiter Horns: They are not of divers Colours, as 'he affirms, neither go they in Flocks or Herds together; 'though I have eaten of their Flesh more than once, hunted 'by Greyhounds, being turned loose from the Mountains, 'they having much of the Nature of Venison both in their

[1] A similar account will be found in Stevens (*H. of Persia*, 150, from P. Teixeira, *Relaciones*, p. 157) who calls the place Sthabanon. Prof. Browne informs me that the name represents Shi'b Bawwān (Barbier de Meynard, *Dict. Geogr. Hist.* 118, 120). There are three places of this name, one between Fars and Kirman, which is called simply Bāwanāt.

'Taste and Aspect. Moreover these Creatures (rather 'Sheep than Goats) as they breed greater or lesser Stones, 'they discover it by their Gate, of which both the crafty '*Armenian* as well as *Persian* are well advised.

Other Creatures as well as these are subject to this Distemper, as Cows, Sheep, and Apes; which last is reckoned the most excellent *Bezoar* by more than a few.

To the Directions already given, I shall add, That the true *Bezoar* Stones have a Straw, or something in resemblance thereof, which never fails but in the Adulterate; and if the upper Coat being shaved off, there succeed not another Round, as is visible in Onions, till you come to the Straw, without doubt it is Counterfeit.

But the following Method will better betray the Cheat, because they leave nothing unattempted to impose upon the Buyers: If you rub the Stone with a little Lime, and if in the chafed Part there appears a Purple Colour, it declares it true and genuine, without sophistication. Or if you cast them into a Bason of Water, after an exact Account is taken of their Weight, and they be taken out Three Hours after, and weighed again, and it answer the first Account, neither losing nor gaining by their stay in the Water, then pronounce them right: But if being rubbed by Lime they chance to crack, or a Flaw be made in the Trial, or that they alter upon their Immersion in the Water, you slander them not, if you say they are False.

In this Country *Assa Fœtida* is gathered at a Place called *Descoon*[1]; some deliver it to be the Juice of a Cane

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[1] Kuh-i-Dozgan, which will be found in Wilson's map, lying W. of Kuristan, on the Bandar 'Abbas-Lar route. "The second sort is found at *Duzgun*, in Persia, a town near *Laston*, between *Komron* and *Lar*, a city about 30 leagues from *Harmuz*, or *Ormuz*; the third is brought from the Province of *Karazon*, in Persia" (Stevens, 91). Herbert (125) calls these places "Duzgun, Laztan-De, and other towns near Whormoot." For the varieties of Ferula from which assa fœtida is produced, see Watt, *Econ. Dict.* iii, 328 ff.

or Reed inspissated; others, of a Tree wounded: It differs much from the stinking Stuff called *Hing*[1], it being of the Province of *Carmania:* This latter is that the *Indians* perfume themselves with, mixing it in all their Pulse, and make it up in Wafers to correct the Windiness of their Food, which they thunder up in Belchings from the Crudities created in their Stomachs; never thinking themselves at ease without this *Theriac:* And this is that they cozen the *Europeans* with instead of *Assa Fœtida*, of which it bears not only the Smell, but Colour also, only it is more liquid.

It is usual on the News of our Approach to these great Cities, or Populous Towns, for the Governors or their Deputies to expect the coming of our Agent a *Pharsang* out of Town, bringing the Men of Note with him to attend us to our Lodgings, and bring us with Pomp through their Streets, and at the same time lay in Store for us and our Horses, ushering in huge Courses of Provisions, both ready dress'd and undress'd, as also Services of Sweetmeats dried and undried, sending in Sheep, Goat, and Pullen, Barley, Rice, and the like; and at our departure Present us with *Persian* Steeds for our Journy: For which we must not stir till we have paid sufficiently, by return of our Country Manufactures, as Scarlet[2], Watches, or something of greater Value: *Tam citò in avaritiam excurrit sua humanitas; quommodo enim beneficium est quod in quæstum mittitur? cum à beneficio abesse debeat negotiatio, &c.* Senec. lib. 3. de Benefic. So soon their Humanity is turned to Avarice; for how can that be esteemed a Gift, which is bestowed with an intent to gain? Since any manner of Profit, which is sordid, makes void an entire Benefaction.

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[1] See vol. i, 286.

[2] Broadcloth, Pers. *saqlātūn* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 861)

But being rewarded for their forced Courtesy, upon our mounting they conducted us on our Way, as far as they waited to bring us in.

CHAP. III.

We Measure the utmost Bounds of the Provinces of Lhor *and* Gerom, *to the City of* Siras.

BEING now advanced upon the Mountains, among whose Tops and Turnings we make our Progress; fresh instances of the Convulsions which this Sulphurious Soil is subject to encounter us, as by the Cloven Hills and Rocks we may be convinced could be effected by no other means than by terrible Earthquakes from the Bowels of the Earth: Among these droughty and uncouth Paths, having wearied our Steps for Three *Pharsangs*, we came to a *Caravan Ser Raw*, by Name *Pokutal*[1], at the foot of these Mountains, and the beginning of a spacious Plain, where we found the first alleviation from the fierce Heats of the Noon of Night, though at Noon Day we could not think our case much amended.

Po is interpreted the Basis, *Kutal* of the Hill; this Inn was a new, strong, square, large Inn; the first we stabled, or rather shut our Doors in a-Nights, it being Built after the Best Form, and Capacious of a great Number, both in the outward Square and inner Stables; to this belonged Three stately Tanks with a deep Well, some an Hundred Fathoms down to the Bottom, with a Pond, either to Water

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[1] Pā-i-Kutal, "foot of the pass," not marked on the maps. "A league from thence [a village in the plain after leaving Bihry] I lodged in the Inn called Pai-Cotali, that is to say, the foot of the mountain" (Tavernier, 253). It is probably the Kuda-Poicotal of Hedges (*Diary*, i, 205 f.). Near here Herbert (129) fixes "Deachow (or Techoo) which signifies a Towne under a hill."

or Wash the Cattel in, hard by it; the perfect proof of our being passed the Sands, which hold not digging such a depth, this being White Marle; and the whole Plain promised a more fruitful Clay.

Hence to *Bury*[1] metes out Twelve Miles more, where the best *Caravan Ser Raw* is on all the Road, it being not only well Adorned with White facing Stone, but is both a Large and Convenient, as well as Stately Fabrick.

Hard by this is a *Peor*[2], or Burying-place of one of their Prophets, being a goodly Monument, with an *Arabick* School Founded in his Honour, and Endowed with a good Pension for to maintain the Devotion of their Priests.

The next *Munsel* we hardly Went, but Crept onward to, through almost impassable and dangerous Precipices, with all the heed imaginable, for a Trip here could not have been retrieved without the loss of our Lives; but by the Divine Providence we came to *Bonaru*[3], an Eight Cornered *Caravan Ser Raw*, Eighteen Miles from *Bury*; there on an Hill are the remains of a regular Fortification, with a suppliment of Outworks on every side, without any Avenue, unless on one side; between this Village and *Bury*, the Inhabitants reckon a many Castles on the Mountains with large Tanks of Water, and Store-houses for Provisions

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[1] Biris, about 15 miles as the crow flies N.W. of Lar, the Berry of Herbert (130). "I stand at *Bihry*, a little City seated upon a plain, that borders upon a high mountain. The Inn is new and very magnificently built by the mother of *Aimas*, *Kan* of *Lar*, when the great *Sha-Abbas* took the country from the *Gaures*, whom he constrain'd to turn Mahumetans" (Tavernier, 252 f.). Hedges (*Diary*, i, 206) calls it Beeres, and praises the "spacious Caravan-Sarai, the best I have seen on ye Road, except that at Larr."

[2] Pers. *pīr*, "a saint," a term often used for the tombs of such holy men (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 692).

[3] Banaru, the Bannarow of Herbert (131): Benarroo of Hedges (*Diary*, i, 206). It lies on 28 parallel N. Lat. "But this Province [Farsistan] formerly extended no further than *Banaroa*, two days journey from *Lar*, before *Sha-Abas* conquered the Kingdom of *Lar*, and then the Kingdom of *Ormus*" (Tavernier, 142). Elsewhere (252) he speaks of "*Banarou*, a little City well built at the foot of a high mountain, upon which appears the remains of a large Castle."

of Corn, Cut out of the main Rocks with indefatigable Cost and Industry, which Works were they to be begun now (say they) could not be Finished by the Expertest Artists in Fifty Years. They yet retain a Warlike Disposition, being still accounted the best Gunners here of any other places in *Persia*; at the Entrance into this place are unsizable Heads of Mountain-Rams with their Horns[1], set up as the Trophies of their Skill in Shooting them ; and as a farther Argument of the cruel slaughter made among their Forefathers, for more than Three Days Journy together, the Fields are every where filled with Graves.

And now we began to be acquainted with the shift they make for Water in these dry Countries, where there is little Rain, and no Rivulets ; they Dig for Springs, and when they have found one, they follow the Water-Course which way it directs under Ground, Hollowing the Ground, and at every Thirty or Forty Yards, cast up a Mole-Hill, where they make a Pit to Ventilate and let in the Air to Purify the Water, as well as to Cleanse the Channel, and this Course holds on many *Pharsangs* together for the advantage of the Vallies[2]; and this I look upon to be as

[1] The practice of placing horns of wild sheep as trophies on buildings was, and is, very common. Wood describes them on Kirghiz tombs (*Marco Polo*[3], i, 176): and in other parts of Central Asia they are noted by Vámbéry (*Travels*, 196), and by Schuyler (*Turkistan*, i, 135). Vigne saw horns of the wild sheep, ibex, and markhor on Lohani graves in Afghanistan (*Personal Narr.*, 85). In Persia Miss Sykes saw them placed as a sign of honour on a village shrine (*Through Persia*, 257). Curzon (i, 125, ii, 23) speaks of a Chinar tree near a holy man's tomb, with its boughs covered with rams' horns, a favourite offering of the pious Musalman to the honoured dead; and the Kelleh Minar at Ispahān was formed of horns and shells of animals killed in the chase. The custom is common in the Himalayas (Crooke, *Popular Religion*[2], ii, 225). For other instances, see *Journ. Anthrop. Instit.* xi, 27 : *Folk-Lore*, vii, 148 : Baring Gould, *Strange Survivals*, 41 : Layard, *Nineveh and Babylon*, 251 : Id. *Early Adventures*, ii, 330 : Wood, *Journey*, 231.

[2] The well-known *qanāt* or *karez*, the system of underground irrigation channels, common in Persia and Afghanistan, which has been described by many travellers. A good early account will be found in Josafa Barbaro, *Travels to Tana and Persia*, 70 f. Curzon (i, 115 *n.*)

much the cause of the Generation of the *Bezoar*-Stone in the Animals aforesaid, as the reasons alledged there by *Bontius* for their Production; for by the consent of all Physicians, nothing contributes more to the Breeding of the Stone in Men, than such things as are Undigested and create Obstructions; nor can any thing be more Obstructing than such Water as is drawn from Wells and deep Caverns, where the Sun has little influence, as we may have occasion to manifest afterwards; and therefore we may probably Conjecture, these Unconcocted Waters to be a main instrument of their production, since where these are in use, this Accident is more general than in other places.

From *Bonaru* to *Mousar*[1], another Eight-square *Caravan*, are Fifteen Miles, fine, plain, and easy way; near the *Caravan Ser Raw* was a pleasant Garden, the utmost extent of the *Caun* of *Lhor*'s Dominions on this Road.

And as a Boundary thereto, is opposed the steepest Hill we have yet met with, insomuch that we found it a notable Task to gain the Top by the Morning of the following Day, contenting our selves to sit down at *Chawtalk*[2], but Nine Miles from *Bonaru*, being advised of a more troublesome Day's Journy the *Munsel* after this; not so difficult for Access as this, but a more continued Labour by the multitude of Mountains we were to Master,

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traces it back to Polybius (x, 25). Also see MacGregor, *Journey*, ii, 136: Morier, *Second Journey*, 163: Wills, *Land of Lion and Sun*, 127.

[1] This is apparently the place which Tavernier (252) calls Mouezeré, "in the midst of a pleasant Grove, where there is an excellent spring of water"; or the Mowuseer of Hedges (*Diary*, i, 206), who calls it, "an old ruinous Caravan-Sarai, and sorry water." Fryer seems here to have confused his distances, which are not easily reconcileable with the maps. He may have halted at Mansūrābād, instead of at the neighbouring and more important town of Juwun.

[2] Pers. Chāh-talkh, "bitter well," on the western of the two available routes from Juwun to Jahrum, which is stony, hilly, and exposed to raids (Wilson, 162). Hedges (*Diary*, i, 206) calls it Chatalkee, "a spacious Caravan-Sarai, with plenty of good fresh water and provisions."

and on that account it was highly necessary to Feed our *Caphala*'s well before we undertake so great a Work.

Chawtalk, (by the most valuable Munificence of the Benefactor, yet living to Oversee this good Deed compleated) is a noble new *Caravan*, an Ample and Princely Building: Near to it was, not long since, only a Well of Bitter Water, which gives Name to the Place; but by the Cost and Inquest of this Pious Benefactor, Sweeter Waters are at this time produced, something more remote, for Men to Drink, though the Cattel refuse not generally the other.

On these Mountains the *Mastich* Tree brings forth plenty of that Gum, of which the Country People make good Profit[1]: Nor does less Benefit accrue by the Mellifluous Dew a-Nights turn'd into Manna, from the Leafs and Shrubs, as well as Plants, upon the sides of these Mountains, which are not altogether so Barren as those we have hitherto passed; this Manna is White and Granulated, and, what I have found my self, I think not inferior to the *Calabrian*[2].

As for the Mastick Trees, they bore Red Berries, and if wounded would spew out the liquid Resin from the Branches; they are not very tall, of the bigness of our Bully[3] Trees: Whether they bring forth a Cod or not, this

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[1] The *Pistachia lentiscus* (Watt, *Econ. Dict.* vi, Pt I, 270). "Others commonly chew Mastick, particularly in Persia, where they call it Mastaguy [*mastaka'*, *mustaka'*, *mastakā*], and with it scent the water they drink: as the great Men do with Amber, which they call by the same name" (Stevens, *H. of Persia*, 20).

[2] The Persian manna is called *gez*, *gaz*, found particularly on the leaves of the *gez* or tamarisk, where it is said to be deposited by a small, pale-green insect. It is produced chiefly in the neighbourhood of Isfahan, and is gathered in the form of a white paste, which is made into a sweetmeat called *gezangebin*, with the addition of almonds and pistachios: sometimes boiled along with the leaves, and allowed to harden into a greenish cake, in taste like nougat (Curzon, ii, 502). Also see Malcolm, *H. of Persia*, i, 322: Wills, *Land of Lion and Sun* 158: Stevens, *H. of Persia*, 29: Layard, *Early Adventures*, i, 350.

[3] Bullace: the wild plum.

Season would not inform me, nor can I say it agrees in all respects with the Lentisk Tree of *Clusius*.

Here also grows the Wild or Bitter Almond, the Wands or Sticks of which are in Esteem, for that Tradition of their being of the same Tree with those of *Aaron*'s Rod, which budding brought forth Almonds, and for that reason are worn by those of the highest Rank among them: More of this anon.

And now the time approaches we must pass over in one Day as many Mountains as we have hitherto been conquering, some of whose Clifts could never be gained, had they not been joined together by vast Arches from Rock to Rock, their dismal Pits otherwise being rendred impassable: Thus by inexpressible Endeavours we strive to clear this formidable Chain of Hills, all in the Heat of the Sun (not daring to trust our selves in the Night), whereby we had our Skins flead off of those Parts exposed to the Solar Rays; and those that fared best had Bladders raised, as if scalded or burnt by the Fire; for which, when we had travell'd One and twenty Miles, we found at *Gerom*[1] a ready Medicine of the Butter of the Seed of Gourds made into an Ointment, which appeased the Inflammation by its cooling Virtue, and immediately asswaged the Pain by Basting our selves herewith, being half Roasted.

We refreshed our selves one entire Day at *Gerom*, where a small White Grape, without any Stone, was an excellent Cordial; the Wine pressed from it is white also, and the strongest by Natural Fermentation only, that I ever drank; they are called *Kismas*[2] Grapes, and the

[1] Jahrum: the Iarrown of Herbert (129). "The little city of Jarron, which is rather to be called a Forrest of Palm-trees" (Tavernier, 252). The road is dangerous: "the steep mountain of Jarra, which is very high and very long: but the descent is the most dangerous that ever I saw in all my Travels" (*Ibid.* 252). Hedges (*Diary*, i, 206) speaks of "divers steep scraged Hills." The other route is also difficult (Wilson, 162).

[2] Pers. *Kishmish*. "'Kishma's amber vines' of Moore are in

Wine is known by the same Name farther than where they grow, it being of so stout a Body that it is not subject to decay presently; though their best Wines when they begin to turn, are fit for nothing but Vinegar, they being inexpert either in their Cure, or to preserve them; that which we drink is pure, without any Sophistication.

There grow no where better Dates than at this Town; and packed up dry are preferred before others all the World over.

The People that dwell here are for the most part blind; for of Three you meet, Two shall not see, and it may be a Third shall have but half an Eye[1].

The Occasion whereof, as they report, is, because little pretty coloured Mice and Weasels by their poysonous Stale infect the Trees so, that they produce Worms, the Parent of this Distemper; more truly fancying than proving this Secret, for want of that Microscope whereby *Kepler* assisted this enquiring Age to discover, That no kind of Plant whatsoever but procreates of its superfluous Juice some putrid Humour, which by active Nature is enliven'd into Vital Motion, forming to every one their proper Insects.

Whether any Virulency may be ascribed to these, or the immoderate eating of Dates ought to be accused of their excessive Heat, as we do Wormwood, which for that reason we account offensive to the Eyes, I know not; following herein the Prince of Physicians, *Calidis enim qui sæpè multumque utuntur, nervorum infirmitatem adferunt,*

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comical contrast with the treeless sterility of the real Kishma" (Curzon, i, 5 *n.*). "The Kishmish grape is the smallest in Persia; it is a bright yellow colour and very sweet; it is, when dried, what we call the Sultana raisin. The wine is a golden yellow, delicious when new, but terribly heady" (Wills, 159).

[1] Blindness in Persia is due to lack of cleanliness, the blinding glare of the sun from rock and sand, and the scanty protection to the eyes afforded by the national head-dress, aggravated by dust and flies.

in Aph. 16. *Hyp. lib.* 5. who says, They who accustom themselves to eat Hot things, bring on themselves the Weakness of the Nerves, and consequently decay their Eyesight, the Optick Nerves being signally affected, through which Organs, Spirits ought to be conveyed principally for the service of the Eyes.

To which Evil no doubt Sympathy makes a great Addition, whether in the Individual, or in respect of others: Wherein the Poet Philosophized, when he sang,

Cum spectant oculi læsos læduntur & ipsi.

But above all, the Sands, which have here the same effect as elsewhere.

This is a Free Town, enfranchis'd with Liberties peculiar to its self, being independent on any other Governor but its own; though he be but a *Calenture*[1] or Bayliff, giving Laws, and ruling by his own Power, being accountable to none but the Emperor: His Jurisdiction spreads a great way, for that he is not inferior in Wealth to many *Cauns*, only somewhat less in Dignity.

Mr. *Herbert* in his *Itinerary* relates *Gerom* to have its denomination from certain *Jews* who took up their Abode here, and gave it this Name in honour of their *Kirjoth-Jerom:* But whether more of that Nation dwell here than in other great Towns, I am not thoroughly advertised, and therefore forbear determining.

A Mile from the Town had been a Coloss, now half ruined by Age, bearing still some Marks of its pristine Majesty, it being more than Sixty Foot high, and Thirty in Circumference, raised in Memory of some departed Saint; it overlooks a great many more humble Tombs, not liable therefore to such Dilapidation.

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[1] Pers. *Kalāntar*, "bigger, greater." "The Kelounter, who, besides the real governor, resides in every city, town and village, and superintends the collection of the tribute" (Morier, *First Journey*, 235).

Leaving these, we pass through plough'd Fields, sowed with Wheat and almost mowed, it being Harvest time.

In this Plain abundance of Liquorice grows wild; and by the Brooks sides are planted Country Mansions, with store of Sallows and Willows. At Midnight we came to *Mocock Sugta*[1] (*i.e.* a dry Clove) Twenty two Miles, having forded several Plashes where flourished lascivious Shrubs, more like *Southernwood* than *Osiers*, till we were inclosed again in the Mountains.

The *Rhadars*[2] here had apprehended a sturdy Thief, who had set upon a poor Merchant, and drove away his Ass loaded with *Indian* Cloth: These sort of Vermin are rare, either for the exemplary Punishment inflicted, which is Immuring, when detected, or for the former mentioned Satisfaction to be made by the *Shawbunder*[3], who employs these *Rhadarees*, restoring to every one their proper Goods, or else giving them the full Value.

I shall not deviate much to give a credible Instance from our Agent, who upon the Road by the Remissness of the *Shotters* had his Gold Bridle and other Furniture stole out of a *Caravan Ser Raw*, after they had come tired in. As soon as they were missing, upon notice given to the Captain of the *Rhadars*, a strict Search being made presently, it was not long e're the Criminal was detected, and taken with his Prize, the latter restored, and the other left to the Mercy of the Agent, who might have cut him to pieces without any other Formality of Process, had he not

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[1] Mukhek in Wilson's map. If Fryer's derivation be correct, the proper form is Mekhāh Sūkhtah or Sūkhah. Hedges (*Diary*, i, 206) calls it Moocack Sookta: "here we had ye best musk melons that ever I saw of ye growth of Cossir." "Mohack our next (in which are buried *Mahomet*, *Hodge*, *Izmael*, and *Ally*), (four great Mussulmannish Doctors, intombed here 400 years ago), resorted to with no small reverence" (Herbert, 132).

[2] See vol. ii, 161.

[3] See vol. i, 247.

delivered him over to be chastised by his Accusers[1], who were not wanting to inflict what Punishment his Fact deserved, the next *Caun* adjudging him the Severity of the Law.

Here again over the Portal of the Inn, were advanced the Crests to the *Persian* Arms, I mean huge Rams-heads, Horns and all, which declare what would seem monstrous to relate, they surpassing in Bulk as well as Courage all those of other Nations; not for their Heads alone, but their Tails, which sometimes prove such Incumbrances, that unless small Carts were ordained for their Carriage (especially the tame ones), they would trail upon the Ground, and wound themselves against every sharp Stone and rough Piece of Ground[2]: But these exalted are the Offspring of the Mountains, sheltring themselves among the Rocks and untrodden Paths of the Hills.

Where, and in our Passage, grew the Mountain-*Poly*[3], which struck our Scent, till we descended a Fruitful Valley, abounding with Springs of Water, which gave Increase to many Furlongs loaded with Rice or *Paddy*, being courser than the *Indian*; from whence not only *Persia*, but all the World besides, must fetch the best and finest Rice[4].

This Valley led us to *Caifer*[5], some Five *Pharsangs*, a Village blest with all Fruits *Persia* glories in, but above all, the choicest Oranges; but this unseasonable Year, with the

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[1] The Muhammadan *lex talionis*, see Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, 481 f.

[2] The fat-tailed sheep: Pers. *dunba*, *dumba* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 324).

[3] A species of Germander, *Teucrium polium* (*New Eng. Dict. s.v.*: Watt, *Econ. Dict.* vi, Pt IV, 41).

[4] Rice is still largely imported into Persia from India (*Ency. Brit.* ed.[11], xxi, 197).

[5] Khafre of Wilson's map, lying, as Fryer says, between two ranges of hills— Kuh-i-Gushtasib and Kuh-i-Safidar. "I slept at an Inn built in an octagonal form, a good Legue from the River, with several villages between. The name of the Inn is *Kaffer*" (Tavernier, 251).

help of the Locusts, had blasted them all. This Town, as it terminates the Bounds of *Gerom*, so it puts an end to the genuine Growth of the Palm-Tree, it being barren beyond this Place, and therefore only set in Great Mens Gardens for Shew, it delighting rather in Hot and Dry Ground, such as Sands, and such as come nighest in Nature to them: Moreover, the Climate beyond this Place admits of too cold a Winter for their Nourishment, which I impute to be the chiefest Cause.

This Town is planted in the Bosom of two Rows of Hills, reaching *Siras*, which delivers us to a delightful Plain, adorned with Cypress-Trees on each hand, and plenteously stored with Villages and Running Water on every side.

And now it was pleasant to behold the Harvest-men labouring with their Sythes, the Wheat blading low; the Ruther[1] Beasts with distended Bags grazing in the Meadows, the Sheep with their broad Tails gathered into Folds, and the wary Shepherd on his Guard to defend them, as well as to dress them when infected with any Maladies; the Groves look'd Green, as in the midst of Summer's Pride, whose Bowers the Winged Choristers made chearful with their unconfined Notes, their Mirth as free as their Melody untaught, being actuated by no other Rule than Instinct.

These gave us hopes of future Moderation; nor were they flattering; for we had not traced Ten Miles of this pleasant Way, when we came to *Firaw*[2], (*The Foot of the Way*,) where *Aga Tocke*[3] had placed a *Caravan Ser Raw*; but here we were forced to gather those Garments close

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[1] A.S. *hrýther* "an ox, cow" (Halliwell, *Dict. of Archaic and Provincial Words*, ii, 693). "It is the pasture lards the rother's sides" (Shakespeare, *Timon of Athens*, iv, 3). *New Eng. Dict. s.v.* Rother.

[2] Pers. *firū*, "down."

[3] Perhaps Āgha Taqī.

about us, the wearing of which we hitherto rather thought an useless Decency, than a real Requisite[1].

From hence to *Mussaferry*[2] we toiled through rugged and uneasy Ways to a very splendid *Caravan Ser Raw*, some Fourteen Miles more, where we took our Rest: And thence along a sweet Campaign, watred by a delicate Rivulet on the Left, at the Bottom of the declining Hills, bestowing its Blessing on the adjacent Villages and Country Towns.

We continued journying all this Night; wherefore the Sun had gilded the Firmament with his Vermilion Red, before we took up at *Bobba Hodge*[3], Thirty Miles compleat from our last Stage. Where intending to have been quiet, we were interrupted more than ever by impertinent Gnats and Flies, by reason of the Concourse of Waters nourishing abundance of Rushes and Fenny Plants, which harboured these and gave them Refuge in the Day, but at Night they broke out of their Lurking-Places, and beset us with that Rage and Force, that no Resistance or Fence can be made against them; for, say they hyperbolically, They will bite through Armour; the best *Persian* Boots (which are low-heel'd and good Cordavan Leather) being not Proof against their Assaults.

Wherefore the Eve to the same Day, to avoid these invincible Assailants, the disturbers of our Repose, we held on our Pace through Pasture-Grounds, such as our Commons, where they are down-fed, that little more than

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[1] He conforms to the national custom of wearing flowing robes, which the wearer, when sitting, carefully draws over his legs. The violation of this rule is a gross breach of propriety.

[2] Mazafri of Wilson's map. "Mouzafferi, and it is the only place in Persia where I met with black *Saligots*, or water-nuts, as big and as good as those in *Dauphine*" (Tavernier, 257). Hedges (i, 207) calls it Mussaferee.

[3] Bābā Hājī, lying S.W. of the Daria-i-Mahala lake. "Here the Firuzabad road joins the main Jahrum-Shiraz road" (Wilson, 165). Herbert (132) writes Bobbaw-hodgee: Hedges (i, 207) Bobba Hadgee.

Green-Sod appears, in which were wanton Foles and unback'd Colts, with Mares for Breed, and unbridled Stallions, sporting on the spacious Downs, which brought us onwards to *Siras* Twelve Miles more, *viz.* to the *Beggars-Garden* (but one *Pharsang* short of the City) called *Udgewally*[1].

Here we had scarcely alighted, but the *French* Agent having notice of our coming, beat up our Quarters, and broke us of our Sleep.

By Break of Day the *Armenian* Christians, which are numerous, came to congratulate our Arrival, and brought Banquets of Wine, Fruit, and a Cold Treat, with Led Horses of State, and loud Musick, to make our Entry the more Pompous. In order whereunto, about Eleven in the Morning, conducted with much Ceremony, we approached *Siras*, where we found Spectators answerable to the Novelty of our Appearance, and the Greatness of our Train, with which we were passing through this City nigh Two Hours, before we were enclos'd within the Walls of the *English* House, which is a Noble one, in the middle of a stately Garden.

Hither came the Fathers of all Orders to bid us Welcome, that were resident in the several Convents allowed them in this City; all which, and other Christian Attendants, were not dismiss'd till after a Splendid Dinner provided by our Interpreter, who makes some Thousands a Year by the License of our Winepress, the Profit whereof is wholly his.

The Wines of the Growth of this Country are esteemed the most Stomachical and Generous in all *Persia*, and fittest for common drinking, when allayed a little with Water, otherwise too heady for the Brain, and heavy for

[1] Not found in the maps. The description suggests to Prof. Browne the Haft-tan garden near Shīrāz, described by him (*A Year amongst the Persians*, 285 f.).

the Stomach, their Passage being retarded for want of that proper Vehicle[1]: It is incredible to see what Quantities they drink at a Merry-meeting, and how unconcerned the next day they appear, and brisk about their Business, and will quaff you thus a whole Week together.

In which Exercise when they engage, they observe this Maxim, Always to lay in Ballast, they eating heartily; and all the time that Healths are passing about, they have Cucumbers, Melons, and other Fruits before them, which must be acknowledged to receive the most perfect Ripeness, and therefore are more innocent here than any where else. Tobacco is a general Companion; and to give them their due, they are Conversable Good-Fellows, sparing no one his Bowl in their turn; and to be sure none shall escape a Nosegay, Orange, or some such Mark as passes with every Health; so that sometimes when they mind Discourse more than the Business in hand, a whole Nest of Posies wait on one Man, who must clear himself, or disgust those whose Healths remain unpledg'd.

Having discharg'd the Fatigue of this Day, it remained incumbent on our parts to return these Civilities, which was to renew the Trouble again, each striving to outvye others in their Entertainments: In these Courteous Visits we spent a Week, nor was that sufficient, but we being late in the Year for this Journey to *Spahaun*, our Interpreter excused our Neglect.

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[1] There are two varieties of Shiraz wine, a red and a white, "which are stored in jars and sold in glass bottles of curious shape, locally manufactured. I thought some old Shiraz wine which I tasted was by far the best that I had drunk in Persia, an opinion which has apparently been shared by others beside me, seeing that, two centuries ago, John Struys plaintively remarked that 'it was held in such esteem that it was as dear as Canary Sack in the Low Countreys'" (Curzon, ii, 100). Tavernier (144) also commends it; and Wills (220, 229 f.) gives a lively account of his experiences in making it.

CHAP. IV.

Of Siras, *and the Ancient City* Persepolis, *and our Journying quite through* Persia.

IN our Stay here we had Opportunity to observe *Siras*, not only by Fame, but indeed to be, second to none, except the Royal City, in the whole Empire: And in this Country, the Country which is properly *Persia* (extended from the Gulph to *Esduchos*[1], which parts *Parthia* from it by a great Ditch made for a Boundary on that Side to this Ancient Kingdom) it is the principal Metropolis.

It is delivered as a Tradition, That it arose from the Ruins of *Persepolis*[2]: Others will have it as old as *Cyrus*, who contend for him to be the Founder, for that the nearness of the Name intimates as much: But that he should raise it as a Monument, seems not so probable, who would not permit it at his Death, as that these People, devoted to his Memory, might on the Miscarriage of *Persepolis*, raise this in Honour of him, whose Remembrance might at once revive the Glory of the then fallen Monarchy, and bury the hated Name of the new Conqueror in Oblivion, who had sullied all his Lawrels by hearkning to the unlimited Revenge of a Prostitute, to lay the most flourishing *Persepolis* in Ashes, from whence, *Phœnix* like, this is supposed to spring.

And when we enter its Wealthy Markets, or *Buzzars*[3], *Basilick* Buildings, supported by Rows of vast Pillars

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[1] See this place described in chap. iv *infra*, *ad finem*.

[2] Shīrāz, the name of which is derived by some from *shīr*, "milk," by others from *shīr*, "a lion," is said to have been founded in 694 A.D. by Muhammad, son of Yūsuf Zakfi. But it probably dates from Achaemenian or Sassanian times, the castle on the northern mountain and the great well being apparently ante-Musalman (Curzon, ii, 95).

[3] Tavernier (247) describes Shīrāz at the time of his visit as "rather like a Town half ruin'd than a City." The Bāzār-i-Wakīl, or Regent's Bazar, the finest in Persia, was built after Fryer's time by Karīm Khān (1751–1779).

covered at top, of which there are innumerable, large and splendid, abounding with Rich Merchandize; the stately Palaces of the *Caun* and other Nobles; the pleasant Walks and Gardens, Colleges and Temples, the Tombs, and Water-Courses; we may afflict our selves with the Losses magnified by *Historians*, but at the same time do Injustice to so valuable a Reparation, which, for ought I know, exceeds the worth of the other: And what adds to its Esteem, it is reckoned by the *Persians* an Holy City, wherefore it's Endowed with Schools and Convents, with Allowance for Students; nor do they in any place excel, (for the Concinnity of Harmony in *Chorus* from the high Towers of their Mosques at their stated Hours for Devotion) these sweet Singers of *Siras:* It boasts therefore of its being an University; which it truly merits from the confluence of all the Learned Tribe coming hither for Education.

Their stately Gardens and Summer-Houses are out of the Town, whither resort those Invited either by Curiosity or Recreation; the most famous of which we Visited, under whose shady Bowers we were Feasted, from the Heel of every Day till Midnight, while we remained here, by the interchangeable Solicitations of our Christian Friends.

Among which, that, honoured with the Royal Claim, and therefore stiled the *King's Garden*[1], deservedly carries the Lustre from the rest, and though every one share in some Excellency or other, yet this comprehends them all

[1] The King's Garden is named by Herbert (136) "'*Hony-shaw*' [? *Khānah-i-Shāh*, "King's House"] (the Kings) challendges superiority ore all the rest." The chief gardens at present are the Bāgh-i-Takht, or Takht-i-Kajār, "the Royal Garden"; the Jahān-numah, or "Displayer of the World"; the Dilgushah or Dilkushā, "Hearts' Ease" (Curzon, ii, 104 f.). It is curious that Fryer does not notice the gardens and tombs of the poets Shaikh Sa'dī or Hāfiz (*Ibid.* ii, 106 ff.): nor the remarkable well on a hill N.E. of the city described by Stack (i, 52 f.).

in one, being a large Map of the whole: Here grow the loftiest Cypress-Trees in the Universe[1]; nor do they want Bodies proportionable to their Height, one of which is said to be Set by *Shaw Abas*, their Beloved Emperor, Measures some Fathoms round: So addicted are these People to Loyal Heartedness, that what is Great, or Magnificent, they offer up as a grateful Testimony to perpetuate the Fame of those Princes who have deserved well in their Annals; for which reason these Trees keep the Name of *Token Cyr*[2], even down to this our Age; willing thereby to Immortalize the *Grand Cyrus*, transmitting an unalterable Tradition as lasting as Posterity its self.

These set in Order make Majestick Walks, under whose shelter thrive the Underwoods; which were they removed from the first Rank of the Quarters, whether our Countrymen would allow the rest to be Wilderness, Orchard, or Garden, would be a Question; since these, with the Water-courses,

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[1] The abundance of cypress groves in the neighbourhood of Shīrāz indicates that in former times the tree was very common. The sculptors of Persepolis must have been familiar with its sombre, pyramid-like form, because it is the only tree figured on the bas-reliefs, as, for instance, on the staircase leading to the hall of Xerxes, where the figures are divided into groups by tall cypress-trees (Perrot-Chipiez, *H. of Art in Persia*, 49). Tavernier (249) saw near Shīrāz "a tree of that bigness, that four men can hardly fathom it; it is proportionably high, and is look'd upon to be the fairest cypress-tree in all *Persia*, where so many grow besides." Sykes (*Ten Thousand Miles*, 354) saw perhaps the largest cypress-tree in the world at Sangun, its girth at 5 feet from the ground being 25 feet. Just about this point huge limbs, like those of an oak, branch off. From a distance it resembled a big plane-tree, except for its colour.

[2] For the explanation of this puzzling term I am indebted to Dr O. Codrington. Marco Polo (ed. Yule, 3rd ed. i, 127) speaks of the celebrated Arbre Sol or Arbre Sec, growing in the province of Tonocain. Gen. A. Houtum-Schindler (*JRAS.* Jan. 1909) shows that the true reading of Marco Polo's name *Sol* applied to the tree is *Seul*, which is the provincial pronunciation of Pers. *sarv*, "the cypress-tree," commonly called *sūl*. The tree referred to by Marco Polo stood in a plain between Tūn and Qāyin in Khurāsān, whence comes his name "Tonocain." On this evidence we may conclude that Fryer took the name of our celebrated cypress-tree to designate the species. His "Token Cyr" thus represents To (Tūn)-Ken.(Kain or Qāyin) Cyr (*sūr* or *sūl*=*sarv* or cypress): that is to say "the celebrated cypress tree of Tūn and Qāyin."

make the whole Design of the Perspective; in which promiscuously are included Philberts, Haslenuts, Pistachias, Sweet Almonds, Cherries of both sorts, Peach, Apricot, Prunello's, Figs, Prunes, Grannet, Chestnut, Nectorines, Quince, and all those we call Wall-Fruit, without any Assistance: Oranges and Limes begin to flag here, rejoycing more where Cold is less felt; for though it is very Hot now, it has a short but severe Winter; for which cause, Roses, Lillies, and Jassemin, are Shaded under all these to defend them from each Extreme; and below these the Violet and Primose, with what exalt not their Heads above the Grass.

In the midst of all a Banquetting-House, or House of Pleasure[1], with this Conveniency, that which side so-ever we cast our Eyes, most grateful Greens refresh our Prospect, and cooling Springs feed spouting Fountains, till they unite in a full Sea, and thence are diverted into pleasant Streams, both for Diversion and benefit of the Place.

Here is beheld the Trembling Poplar, the Tall Sicamore, and the Humble Elm, contrary to what we see in *Europe*; the Pine and Ash are Natives of this Soil, by the diligence of the Skilful Planters; but out of these Enclosures, no Woods, nor Thickets of any of these accost us.

The Nightingal, the sweet Harbinger of the Light, is a constant Chearer of these Groves, Charming with its Warbling Strains the heaviest Soul into a pleasing Extasy.

We return'd back to the City, Lighted by Torches and Flambeaus over a noble Bridge, from whence the Street enlarges gracefully a good length, till we were received into straiter Allies, the rest of the Streets being mostly such, or else covered *Buzzars*[2]; this Bridge serves only to

[1] The buildings in the Bāgh-i-Takht are now in ruins (Stack, i, 51: Curzon, ii, 104).

[2] In the Safavean days, a Chahār Bāgh, or broad avenue, planted

pass over, when the sudden Showers, and Water falling from the Mountains, raise a Flood, at other times it being dry under it, here being no River; though Water is not lacking every where, flowing plentifully in Rills or Brooks, taking their source from the Mountains, with which it is invested on every part, except the *South*-side, which lies plain and open a great way.

These Mountains, as well as Vallies, are stocked with Vineyards, being disposed to bear good Grapes, out of which they press their Wine, and from the Wine-fat set it to Work in great Earthen Jars, from which it is drawn off into Flasks, and so packed up in Chests.

In this place only these Glasses, and some course Drinking Glasses are made; as also Rose-Water Bottles, the best Water whereof is Distilled here; they likewise rectify Spirit of Wine very well: Moreover this City has the noted'st Coppersmiths in all *Persia*[1].

It has neither Fortification nor Walls, neither Ditch nor Mounds, nor other Guard, save its own Soldiers, which are the only Bulworks[2].

The Chief Magistrate was the *Caun*, Governor of the City and all the Province; but he, poor Man, lately by the King's Tyranny, is Deposed and cast into Prison, laden with Irons, as a Capital Offender, for no other reason, but that of abounding with unheard of Treasures; all that he could not convey away the King Seized, and in his room

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with Cypresses, adorned with marble basins of water in the middle, and lined with rows of walled gardens, entered by arched pavilions, led from the mountain gate to a bridge over the stream which flows outside the city walls. Almost all traces of this road have disappeared (Curzon, ii, 94). Morier (*First Journey*, 97) crossed the river on a decayed bridge.

[1] The manufacture of copper-ware is not mentioned among the present industries of Shīrāz (Curzon, ii, 101).

[2] The old walls, seven miles round, were still standing in 1627, when Herbert passed through the city: but these had disappeared in the time of Tavernier and Chardin (Curzon, ii, 97).

has Nominated the Steward of the King's Houshold's Brother (who is Chief Favourite at Court) as Delegate for the time being, but not wholly Deprived the *Caun*, giving him hopes of Release, provided he confess his Wealth and consign it for the use of his Master.

Some say the King took occasion to quarrel with him for neglecting to send his Annual Tribute of Limes to the *Haram*, he expecting to be served first, with the Product of every Province for the Expence of his House, by the Governors thereof before any other; which as it appears reasonable, it is unlikely the *Caun* would have been defective in that point; but it is an easy thing to find a Staff to Beat a Dog; *Facile est invenire baculum Canem ut cædas*[1].

By which single Instance it is visible how it fares where Arbitrary Power bears sway, and how Monarchy is defaced when it takes upon it to be Circumscribed by no Sanction, and what a Monster it looks like when all Laws are swallowed in the Absolute Authority of Dispensing with them; by which means the Godlike Government becomes an insupportable Thraldom.

In all the Cities of *Persia*, as well as this, there are abundance of the *Jewish* Nation (known only at *Lhor*, where the *Caun* is an *Hodge*, by the upper Garment, marked with a Patch of Cloth of different Colour[2]); *Banyans* also, and *Armenian* Christians, with *Europe Roman* Catholicks; driving a Trade, and exercising the Superstitions of their several Religions with freedom, being disturbed by none unless sometimes by the Bigotted Kindred of *Mahomet*; who presume on that account (knowing the Reverence

[1] The French say: Qui veut battre son chien trouve assez de bâtons; and there are similar proverbs in other modern languages.

[2] The Jews at Yezd are still distinguished by being obliged to wear a patch in front of their coats (Curzon, ii, 240).

every where paid to that Impostor) very often on open and extravagant Injustice, setting poor People at Work and never satisfying them; entitling themselves Lords Paramount, and all others by a servile Tie of Conscience to be their Slaves; which sort of People (though Cursed by all) must be appeased, or else all will be in a flame: Which sort of Behaviour of theirs, has wrought the most understanding among the *Persians* to a Diffidence of that Doctrine with its Author, they so mightily preach up, yet practise so little.

The Houses of *Siras* are Built with Brick, not Red, but better Hardned than they are, I mean theirs of the Better sort, not of the Common People, they agreeing with the rest elsewhere mostly, being composed of Mud and Clay. Pipes, or Conduits for Ventilation are not so requisite here as in other parts, and therefore not so universal as in the Sandy Countries; here they are more Expensive on the Beautiful Adorning the Porches and Gatehouses leading to their Houses, taking care to Enclose them with huge high Walls, so that they are hid from the Streets; to which they are admitted by double Gates, over which are Folding Doors opening into Balconies.

Their Publick places of Worship are illustrated with *Mosaick* Work: Painted and Glazed Slates grace the outward Case, artificially disposed into Convex Towers, representing the bending Heaven about them: Panes of Glass for the more solemn Light, are fetched from *Venice*, Tinctured with divers Colours; the Portuco's and lower Walks shine with polished Marble, supported by substantial Pillars of the same[1].

[1] "Two [Mosques] are especially note-worthy in their Antick steeples and Mosaick curiosity. The one is square, fifty foot high in the body, leaded in some part, covered with gold and blue; the walls varnisht and wrought with knots and poesies, vast and unfurnisht (or unfinisht) within; above spiring in two columns or pillars of wood round, cut and garnisht with great bravery, very neer as high as

The *Midan*, or open space before the *Caun*'s Palace, is an Oblong and Stately Piatzo, with real, not belied Cloisters[1].

Taking our leave of this City, we were ushered out as we came in, the *Armenians* compelling us to take a Treat in their Garden appropriated for the Burying of their Dead, where were many Neat Tombs; but the Oddest, because New, was one beset with Young Cypress Trees, and Trimmed to that advantage, that they stood like deep Mourners Clad with Sable Green; pretty Attendants by their Tapering Figure to so sad an Office[2].

On the outside of this City are Repositories for Snow and Ice, which they preserve to Cool their Wine with, and Sell it constantly in the Market for such uses; these are fine Buildings. Ice dissolved in their Liquors, is as prevalent, even among the Vulgar, as Drinking Tobacco. When we had crossed the fruitful Valleys and Hills of Vines, we turned out of the high Road to *Ispahaun*, to a poor Village called *Zergoon*[3], Inhabited by Mulateers, in the plain of *Persepolis*, Fifteen Miles distance from *Siras*.

From hence to the River *Bindamire*[4], or the River

Paules in London. The (other) rather resembling a royal Caravansraw is quadrangular: the superficies of Arabique invention, imbost with gold, flagd with porphyre, painted with azure, garnished in many od mazes, and made resplendent at some solemnities by a thousand Lamps and Torches" (Herbert, 135). At present, the oldest mosque is the Masjid-i-Jāmah or Cathedral, built in 875 A.D., now in ruins; the Masjid-i-nau, or New Mosque, in better condition, having been converted into a place of worship in 1226 A.D.; that of Shāh Chirāgh, conspicuous by its blue dome (Stack, i, 50 f.: Curzon, i, 101 f.).

[1] One face of the Palace fronts the principal Maidān, a desolate expanse, containing a number of guns (Curzon, ii, 99).

[2] See the account of a modern Armenian banquet in Stack (i, 53 f.).

[3] Zarghūn, 20 miles N.W. of Shīrāz, and half-way to Persepolis. The valley, an offshoot from the great marshy plain watered by the Bandamīr, contains at its northern side the famous ruins. It is still noted for its muleteers (Stack, i, 55: Goldsmid, 190 f.: Curzon, ii, 93).

[4] "Shyraz...watered by Bindamyr (or Bradamyr) a sweet river that draws her descent from the *Tapirian* Mountaines, and after two hundred miles circling in many wanton meanders, commixing with the

Araxes, (famous for its untraced Windings upon the Mountains, and sometimes under their very Bottoms, till by its rapid course it vents its self into the Sea), were Twelve Mile more; which having passed, I began to revolve whether ever *Alexander*, the *Macedonian* Victor, had been over it or no; which because it is Recorded he passed his Army over *Araxes* by a Bridge of his own Building, I know not if that be proof enough of this being that River, or of his passing this place more than that; the Stream runs with a Torrent whereby it is unsafe Fording the River without such a Suppliment.

Though as if that were too Trite and Common, I cannot forbear without some Mirth, relating what I had from a *Persian* in this Journy, pointing to an Hill; There, quoth he, stands the Monument of a Miracle performed by *Band Haimero*, the Prophet who gave Name and Credit to this Plain, and consequently to the Bridge athwart this River, which is a thing beyond Human reach to effect, otherwise too mean to exact our Belief.

This Prophet was one of the Twelve Apostles, or Successors of *Mahomet*; nor was this Fact unworthy of so great a Title; for he leading an Host this way, after a notable descent of Rain, which caused this place to overflow, the progress of his Forces was thereby impeded; which he perceiving, thus bespoke that Mountain, *March into the middle of the Waters Confluence, and lay thy self in that manner, that there be sure Footing for my Host*; to whom it

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Choaspes (now *Tab*) and Vlay, with them not far from *Valdae* (old *Shushan*) lose themselves in the Gulph and promiscuously thence in the vast Indian Ocean" (Herbert, 134). The river Kur, the ancient Araxes, is crossed by a great dam, the Band-i-Amīr, "dyke of the Amīr," the work of Asad-ad-Daula, about 970 A.D. "The water is muddy, and flows with tortuous course between muddy banks. As for the rose and the bulbul, 'one might as well hunt for half a day for a forgotten dream'" (Stack, i, 57: Curzon, ii, 92: Morier, *Second Journey*, 73). Fryer confuses various rivers known as Araxes, a common term for streams (Rawlinson, *Herodotus*[3], i, 326). "Band Haimero, the Prophet," gives an imaginary eponym.

readily obeying, became an high Road for his Soldiers to pass over dry shod: But when after this device he had Ferried over his Multitude, it was told him an huge Casm, or Hell-Kettle was left where the Mountain had emptied its self; not being much concerned at the Accident, and meeting a Country Fellow who by chance had a Cheese, he cast it into the Well; which was not filled so, but that it gave occasion to the Satyrists of that time to Lampoon it in their own Language,

Band Haimero has
Agger hau tauk koonet As
Colobe Painer has[1].

What wanting is to fill the place,
Not from *Band Haimer* is, but the Cheese.

Band was the Epithet to the Prophet, which signifies Abstemious, a Virtue more admired than followed, and *Haimero* his Proper Name, wherefore both the Bridge and Plain, as well as River, by *Boterus* is corruptly called *Bindamire,* as appears by this ridiculous Tale; which I mention for this end, that the true Appellation the *Persians* now give them, and their Reason for it may be recovered.

The Bridge over the River is very old, raised high by four Arches, in the middle a Watch-Tower for the *Rhadars* to look out on, to apprehend such as shall by By-ways attempt to deprive them of their Customs, as also to be at hand to secure those that Travel the Road.

Unless sometimes they connive at Excursions for their own Booty, as this Day we had cause to suspect; for this Evening the Rear of our *Caphala* we had taken with us, being only Servants with Arms (the other coming more leisurely, kept the direct Road), were set upon twice; but

[1] Prof. Browne finds these lines, possibly part of a local ballad, hopelessly corrupt.

finding them in a condition to receive them, they wheeled off in the Dusk, but with an intention to take us napping when we were in our Lodgings at *Meergoscoon*[1], Twelve Mile off the Bridge, smooth Way, full of Farms and Country Towns; among which Plain dealing seems most an end to be their only Guard; for they being alarmed by the Rogues that dogged us, rose immediately in our defence, and gave us notice of our Danger, after one of the Villains, on pretence to light his Pipe, had rudely broke in upon us, to discover in what Posture we were, who perceiving their Pains would be only Blows, gave us no farther disturbance.

However we were the more willing on this account to get up by the crowing of the Cock, to pursue our Journy to *Persepolis*[2], whose Ruins we had reached by Break of Day; when having compassed its Marble Foundations (being above, an Area of a large Extent, on the Plain an high Wall, giving some Pains to the attollent Muscles of the Neck, to give the Eyes leave to reach its Height),

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[1] The name of this place is a puzzle. P. della Valle (*Pinkerton*, ix, 101) speaks of Mehrchouscon. "Neere *Chilmanor* is *Mardash* (corruptly by the Spaniard called *Margatean*, a Towne of two hundred houses" (Herbert, 147). This last probably represents Marvdasht Khān or caravan serai, Marvdasht, "the plain of Marv," being the flat expanse, about 15 miles wide from N. to S., and extending some 40 miles to S.E., which is drained by the Bandamīr (Curzon, ii, 91). Prof. Browne suggests that the name in the text is a corruption of Murghāb or Mashhad-i-Murghāb, *i.e.* Pasargadae. Stack, on his way to Persepolis, halted at the Puza Chapar Khāna, or post-house (i, 57).

[2] Fryer, in his margin of original edition, gives "Persepolis now Chulminor" (vol. i, 21). Pers. *chihil-manār* or *minārah* "forty towns." "And from thense, a daies iorney, ye come to a great bridge vpon the Bindamyr, which is a notable great ryver. This bridge they say Salomon caused to be made at the town of Camara, and there appeareth a round hyll which on thone side seemeth to be cutt and made in a fronte of vj paces high; on the toppe whereof is a plaine, and round about it xl pillers called Chilminar, which in their tongue signifieth xl pillers, every one whereof is xx yardes longe and thicke as iij men can embrace; but some of them are decaied" (Josafa Barbaro, 80 f.). "The ribs or ruines of *Persepolis* are at this day call'd *Chil-Manor*, or *Chehel-Manor* (*i.e.* forty Towers) in the idiom of Persia" (Herbert, 144).

we clambred a spacious Staircase united some part of the Way up, when on each hand it led to the several Apartments two different Ways; at top were the Portals, and the Heads of the Columns worn with Age (*damnosa enim quid non imminuit dies*) which consumes every thing; whose Bodies were *Corinthian*, but the Pedestals and Capitals of *Dorick* Order, as might be gained from what had resisted the corroding Jaws of Time, hardly lifting up their Reverend Crowns, though of most durable Stone.

Being entred the *Pomœrium* of *Cambyses* Hall (if Faith be to be given to the most Learned of these Relators), at the Hall Gates we encountred two horrid Shapes both for Grandeur and Unwontedness, being all in Armour, or Coat of Mail, striking a Terror on those about to intrude; their Countenances were of the fiercest Lions, and might pass for such, had not huge Wings made them flying Gryffons, and their Bulk and Hinder-Parts exceeded the largest Elephants[1].

In this August Place only Eighteen Pillars of Forty remain[2] about Fifty Foot high, and half an Ell Diameter, of the distance of eight Paces one from another, though we could count the Twenty two Bases; which agree with the *Persian* Memoirs, who therefore still call it *Chulminor, The Palace of Forty Pillars:* These may be seen on the Plain a great way, and at present are the Residence only of the Tyrants of the Lakes and Fens, Storks only keeping their Court here, every Pillar having a Nest of them.

Nutrit ubi implumes peregrina Ciconia fœtus,
Ad nidos abies consita primo fuit.

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[1] Fryer ascended the great staircase, with its magnificent bas-reliefs (Perrot-Chipiez, 284). The famous figures, forming the Propylaea of Xerxes, have the bodies and legs of bulls, with lofty wings rising above them, not laid back, as in the Assyrian colossi. A second striking difference is that these colossi are, or were, human-faced (Perrot-Chipiez, 292: Curzon, ii, 158, both giving illustrations).

[2] The columns in the Hall of Xerxes originally numbered 72, of which only 12 or 13 are now standing (Stack, i, 64: Curzon, ii, 162).

Which may serve to contradict the received Opinion, of Storks abiding only where Commonwealths are; this always having been an Empire, and at this time is the most Absolute in all the Earth[1].

Beyond these, many Pieces and Scraps of Antiquity offer us a View, and great *Colossus's* supporting vast Giants, as if they had been Yeomen of the Guard in the Anti-room to the Presence-Chamber, which was Eighty Foot Square, where on the Fragments of Walls standing, and over the Porticoes especially, were most curiously cut out of delicate White Shining Marble[2], Men in Military Habit, like the Old *Grecian Phalanx* (if there be leave for Conjecture) encompassing a Monarch represented sitting on his Throne, with a Moving Canopy, such as the *Eastern* Kings have carried over them: On other parts *Bucephalus*, or if that please not, some *Persian* Steed priding himself to carry an Emperor, or some Demi-god. Because neither *Quintus Curtius*, nor after him *Plutarch*, mention the reedifying this Palace either by *Alexander* or any of his Captains, yet I cannot let it pass without this Remark, That they are habited more like the Ancient *Grecians*, than *Persians* now are; besides, the Hair of their Heads is hanging down, and not tied up, which is different from the Modern Fashion of this Country.

In this Apartment Eight Doors seem to answer each other, Two on each side of every Square; which Conformity is attended with extraordinary Elegance and Workmanship; the Roof seems never to have had any intervening Pillars,

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[1] "That storks are to be found, and will only live in republics or free states, is a pretty conceit to advance the opinion of popular policies, and form antipathies in nature to disparage monarchical government" (Sir T. Browne, *Pseudodoxia Epidemica*, III, xxvii, 3: *Works*, i, 360). For the Latin lines compare *serpente ciconia pullos Nutrit et inventa per devia rura lacerta* (Juvenal, *Sat.* xiv, 74).

[2] This is really the calcareous limestone of the neighbouring mountains, the value of which as a building material is discussed by Perrot-Chipiez, 47.

and whether the Beams were of Cedar, it is not so fortunate as to have a Voucher of its own Nation. Many other Parts declared Cost and Pains enough, but nothing more worthy Study than the Characters fairly impressed and engraven, which would unfold the Truth of the Founders of this Building, were they as Intelligible as Legible; for they remain like the Hand-writing on the Wall (*Mene Tekel*), till some Divine Expositor interpret them; yet I must needs say, many of the Characters may be found in the *Greek* Alphabet.

This vast Fabrick is made bigger, by being joined to a great Mountain, out of whose Entrails were worn, rather than digged, Noble Caverns with Stately Sculptures, and wide Ponds of living Water constantly distilling from the Marble Rocks, either for bathing or necessary uses: It is an admirable Piece, overlooking all the Plain, where we took this day's Repast, and over Head saw the Cornish of the Frontispiece embellished with the Royal Arms of the *Persian* Emperor, immediately on the Union of the *Medes* and *Persians* into one Empire, which was a Ram's Head delineated as far as the Chest[1].

In the Afternoon we saw another of the same Make, answering the other part of the Palace, and underneath on the Plain took notice of Two Pillars at a fit distance, the one for the Goal, and the other for the Starting-place of their Coursers when they run Races. Having thus finished our Perambulation, we descended on the contrary side we came up, and found there Goats and Sheep grazing on the Grass between the Joints of the Pavements; but on the Walls of the Staircase (which consisted of an Hundred and twenty Stairs of Black Marble on each side, till they united to Forty more, which delivered us to the Plain)

[1] He probably means the bulls on the columns of the hypostyle hall of Xerxes (Perrot-Chipiez, 300 f.: Curzon, ii, 163).

were the Portraictures both of Men and Beasts on each side, and more of this Ancient Writing distinct in large Panes[1]; at the Bottom whereof our Horses waiting us, we mounted, and returned to *Meergoscoon*, not a full *Pharsang* from hence.

The following Day drove us, out of the same Curiosity, over several Branches of *Bindamire* River, to enquire for other Structures of the like Nature, of which these Mountains afford plenty, bating the great Area of *Persepolis*, which distinguishes it from these; but we did not alight for these, satisfying our selves to stare on them from beneath, they being fit only for *Atlasses*, or for Winged Folk to look into, there being no passage to them, appearing like Dens or open Holes on the sides of the Rocks, from their very Mouths perpendicular to the Ground: Only one above the rest attracted our Sight and Animadversion, reported and still averred to be of old the Court of *Rustam*, an Ancient King of the *Gaurs* or *Gabers* (the true Original *Persian* Race), whose Statue was of a Gigantine Stature, on as large a sized Horse, triumphing over his Foes at the Front of his Cave, with many Attendants clad down to the Heels, with Caps on their Heads (not Turbats) and their Hair loose about their Shoulders[2].

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[1] For these great processional bas-reliefs, see Perrot-Chipiez, 133: Ussher, *Journey from London to Persepolis*, 536.

[2] These are the sculptures and tombs at Naksh-i-Rustam. He probably refers to the fourth bas-relief representing Shapur triumphing over the Roman Emperor Valerian (Curzon, ii, 120). "Five miles West from *Chehel-Manor* is also a gallant Monument, a giant cut into a monstrous proportion, whom the illiterate Persians say was *Rustan*, and from him called *Nocta-Rustan*. I rather judge it the Image of great Alexander" (Herbert, 146). For Rustam, son of Zal, the King Arthur of Irān, and hero of the *Shāhnāmah* of Firdausi, see Malcolm, *H. of Persia*, i, 18 ff.: Stevens, 46 ff. Anything ancient in Persia is attributed to him (Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, 361). The folk-lore of the legend is examined by Potter, *Sohrab and Rustam, the Epic Theme of a Combat between Father and Son* (1902). Gaur or Gaber represents Pers. *gabr*, "a fire-worshipper."

From whence observing frequent Numbers of these, I was apt to collect, that even what goes now for the *Persepolis*[1] which *Alexander* gave leave in a Drunken Fit to be set on Fire at the Request of the Costly *Thais*, may be the Ruins of some Heathen Temple, having seen of the same Recesses among the Idolatrous *Indians*, which they still pay Adoration to, and own to be the Temples of their Gods.

But that that City might stand in this Plain, not only the received Tradition among all *European* Travellers, but the concurrent Opinion of undoubted Historians, certify with all the probable Conjectures.

From hence under these high Hills we kept our Course, proving it to be a Wealthy Plain, stored with all Cattel, Corn, and Wild Fowl, by the plentiful Afflux of Water to the River from the Mountains, and Cuts from the River into the Plain, whereby it might be a fit Situation for the mighty *Persepolis*, as it now is for store of Country Towns, besides whole Armies of *Nomades*, or wandring Shepherds, who pitch their Tents with all their Families, wherever they find a Soil suitable to their Employment. Not far from whom were multitudes of such Tombs as we met with at *Bonaru* Level, which perhaps may give some surer Account than that more Romantick one in appearance we met with there, of their being the dying Trophies of former Battels; though here wants not matter to countenance such Tales to those of easy Faith. For two Mountains shut up this happy Campaign so, as if Nature had taken special Care of its Security; which as formerly they terminated the Territories of the contending *Gaurs*, by their opposite Position, that nothing could creep between

[1] Curzon (ii, 132 *n.*) remarks that if Persepolis means "city of the Persians," it should have been Persopolis. The former Persepolis was probably a play on the Greek πέρσις, "destruction," and may have been a transliteration of Pasargadae or Parsagardae, "the city or encampment of the Persians."

them unexamined, so it is not unlikely that these were the Strongholds *Artibazanes* defended against *Alexander*, when he repulsed him, and had put a Stop to the Torrent of his Victories, had not a *Persian* Rustick shewed him an unknown Passage by the *Pylæ Persicæ*[1], or Postern-Gates on the back of these Mountains, which opened a Way to his farther Progress, as well as to the ravishing this thus basely betray'd Country to the Lawless Rape of an ungovern'd Ambition. To conclude therefore from hence, That these Burial-Places took their beginning so long ago, as it would savour of small Judgment in the Affirmative, yet it may leave some ground to the credulous, that it is possible some as notable Fights might succeed, for the gaining such a Key to so Rich and Spacious a Valley, as well from time to time after *Alexander*, as that not a Century since, this Part remained almost unsubdued, till *Shaw Abas* the Great brought it to perfect Obedience, when there might be occasion for such Interments, if their Piety extended to such a Care of the Dead.

But these Field-Inhabitants incline me to think it their Work, being far from any Town; though the common Fame give it to the other Report, as well to aggrandize their foregoing Ancestry, as to cast a Lustre on the present Posterity. This may serve also to prove their *Scythian* Antiquity; for as the Worthy Mr. *Sheringham* observes, *Sacæ opiliones Asiam incolentes*; that the *Sacæ*[2] were wandring Shepherds; whose Names, to shew their Original, he derives from the *Hebrew* סכת, i. e. *Tabernaculum*, or Tent in *English*; from whence came the *Getæ*, as well as

[1] The Susian or Persian Gates, supposed to have been near Kala Safid, W. of the plain of Marvdasht or Persepolis: held by Ariobarzanes, the Persian Satrap. The route by which they were turned was pointed out by a Lykian captive, who for many years as a slave tended sheep on these mountains (Grote, *H. of Greece* (1869), xi, 496 f.).

[2] For the Sakai see Rawlinson, *Herodotus*[3], i, 672 ff.: Smith, *Early History*[2], 232 ff.

present *Persians*, from their frequent disburthening themselves by Colonies dispersed both into *Scythia*, so to *Europe* as well as *Asia*, where they first inhabited.

From *Meergoscoon* to this Strait is measured Twenty Mile, which finishes not this Stage, for now we were encompassed again with Rocks and Stones among the Mountains, (which we know whose Instigation it was to command they should be made Bread), our Provisions being spent which we had taken for this Deviation; wherefore we were forced to march Twenty Miles farther, to *Maijm*[1], before either we or our Cattel baited; where we arriv'd before our *Caphala* we had left at *Siras*, they pretending they had lost their Way, but more truly lingred, not having us to spur them on; wherefore we were obliged this Night to make the Earth our Lodging, our Arms our Bolsters, and the uneven Stones our Feather-beds; which though we Travellers often do in this Journey out of choise, yet we found it disagreeable, because the Nights now were as intensely Cold, as the Days were Hot. In the Forenoon to the next Day the *Caphala* came, which created us this Day's Stay at *Maijm*, a Town where grows the best Walnuts, of the same bigness with the *Spanish*, and the choicest Tobacco *Persia* affords.

After a sweet Night's Repose, early in the Morn between the Straits of the Mountains, we traced the Source of the Rivet *Araxes*, purling under slippery Pebbles, which no sooner removed, than the Crystal Water bubbles

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[1] Mayin, the Moyoun of Herbert (147). It lies N.W. of Persepolis. "Three days journey from *Schiras* you pass the Mountain of *Mayen*, a little City where there is nothing worthy observation" (Tavernier, 66). "Turning to the west from Persepolis, we passed along the left bank of the Bandamir for about 25 miles. Our route then entered a valley in the hills which had hitherto bounded the plains on the right, and following the valley almost to its source, past the villages Maiyin and Imāmzādah Ismāīl, led us to a very steep and stony pass, from the summit of which we again descended (but in a less degree) to the dreary Maiyin with its long row of trees and gardens" (Goldsmid, 193 f.).

forth, by which means, though a little suppressed at first, in Half a Mile's space it emits a Stream able to drive Three Mills, which notwithstanding were not forcible enough to restrain the impetuous Blasts of Heat pent in between the Hills: Although on the other side when we approached in the Night, all the Cloaths we had wrapped about us, could hardly preserve the innate Warmth, when the Sun had shrowded its self under the Horizon.

At Noon-day we overcame an high Mountain after a troublesome Luctation, this delivering us to another Golden Plain of *Ojoan*[1], gilded over with Ripe Wheat, being no more than Five Miles from *Maijm.*

This *Ojoan* glories in the Sepulchre of another Royal Prophet, which is well endowed with neat Dwellings and Orchards for the *Mullahs*, who take their Service by turns to officiate in their Priesthood, by loud Exclamations and Musick calling People to their Devotions: In this Mansion we were permitted to make our Abode this Day; which because it was so short a *Munsel*, and these Gardens so delightful, I could not but give my self the Pleasure to reflect as well on those Plants we had met wild, as these more cultivated which grew here.

The Bitter Almond-Tree we met formerly in the Highways wild, if it may be called a Tree, and not a Shrub; the Body resembles an Hasle, but slenderer, from whence come Stalks like Broom, on which sprout Leafs synonimous to our Privet; it brings forth Fruit in *March* or *April*, and delights in Hot and Barren Countries.

The Sweet Almond grows on a taller Tree, whose Leafs are like Ash, and ripen about the same time.

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[1] O-Jone of Herbert (147), Ujan in Curzon's map: "The place where Bahram Gur, the sporting Sassanian monarch, lost his life in a quicksand while pursuing the wild ass, from which he was named" (Curzon, ii, 68). For this incident, see Rawlinson, *Seventh Oriental Monarchy*, 298 f.

The *Pistacia* sends forth its Branches on high, and renders its Nuts edible in *Autumn,* whose Leafs are as big as a Walnut's, covered underneath with a soft Grey Down; all these are covered with a succulent Green Shell like a Walnut without, which includes an harder within, in the Shape and Substance we have them brought: Though I find them differently described both by *Gerard* and *Lobelius*[1].

The *Capper*-Shrub accompanies us in the Valleys from *Caifer* hither, and is encompass'd with Prickles something emulating our Goosberries; the Leaf is shaped like Purslain; the Seeds or Fruit, which we call *Cappers*, have a Cod not different from the Cod of the *Major Cardamom*, in which they are inclosed: In *May* the Flower is white and open, like a Sweet-Briar's[2].

The lofty Pine, the Top of the Woods, as well as of those floating on the Main, is not so Tall in *Asia* as in *Europe*, though strait up to the very Top, and is not bunched till the Boughs aloft thrust out the Leafs to embrace the Woody Substance of its Cone-like Apple; the Body is scaled like the Palm-Tree.

The Peach by way of Excellence is termed, *The Persian Apple*[3]; nor does it lessen the Repute, it far exceeding here what can be said in its praise in other Countries.

The Pomgranat is passing good, being the juiciest and

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[1] "The soil about *Casbin* produces Pistaches. The tree that bears them is never bigger than a Walnut-tree of ten or twelve years old. The great quantity of Pistaches that are exported out of *Persia* come from *Malavers*, a little City twelve leagues from *Isfahan*, toward the East. These are the best Pistaches in the world, and the Country being of large extent, produces them in such abundance that it furnishes all *Persia* and the *Indies*" (Tavernier, 26). They come from the tree *Pistachia vera*, and the Indian market is at present chiefly supplied from Afghanistan and N.E. Persia (Atkinson's report in Watt, *Econ. Dict.* vi, Pt I, 273).

[2] The edible Caper is the produce of the plant *Capparis spinosa*, or which and other varieties, see Watt, *Econ. Dict.* ii, 130 ff.

[3] This term seems to have been missed under "Persian" in the *New Eng. Dict.* to which a reference is made under "Apple."

biggest I ever met with, nor does any parallel them, unless those about *Babylon*.

Early the next Morning we departed from *Ojoan*, beginning to alter our Course, the Air being more moderate, crossing a River (by a Bridge) running the whole length of the Plain, in whose Bosom great store of Corn was nourished, it looking yellow, and fit for the Sickle: On the other hand, in the Meadows and Marshes were Droves of Fat Cattel, and all things appeared with the same Face as in *England*; we enjoyed this Accommodation till we came to *Asspass*[1], four *Pharsangs*; it is a Village shelter'd by the Mountains on the *North*, from whence spring many Rivulets of Fountain-Water, dispersed among the Under-Grounds a little too much; by whose Exuberance, Flags, Reeds, and Osiers offer Covert to Wild Boars, and Habitation to some Water-Fowl.

Here a Countryman of ours is remembred to be Governor of a Castle (whose Ruins still are extant) for *Shaw Abas* the Great, in the beginning of King *James* the First's Reign; *viz.* Sir *Anthony Shirley*[2], who took Pay under the Emperor to defend this Pass: It is now inhabited by *Georgian* Christians, who are Tillers of the Ground and Planters of Vines, which are very productive on the sides of the Hills: They are Whiter than the present *Persians*, and of a florid Complexion, being Portly well-limb'd Fellows: Many of them have embraced the *Mahometan*

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[1] Asupas, the Assepose of Herbert (148). "The road then passes for about ten miles through an undulating and very barren country, to a nick leading through a chain of hills on the right; but from this point there is a continuous and decided fall to the plain on which stands the town of Yezdikhast. In the whole distance from Asapas to Yezdikhast not one single tree was observed, far or near. The wretched village of Deh Girda and a small port near Khushki Zard (said to be occupied) were the only human habitations visible, except the black tents of the Ilyats" (Goldsmid, 194).

[2] See vol. i, 252.

Faith after the *Persian* Sect, being Vassals to the Emperor.

By the favour of the rising Moon, *August* the first, we brought the highest part of another Mountain under our Feet, it dividing this Plain from another Rich Valley cloathed with Green Grass, and therefore dedicated to the Pasture of the King's Breed of Horses, among which were Choice Ones of very great Value: We passed two *Pharsangs* to *Cuscuzar*[1], giving both Name to the Valley and Village: Here is a small but delicate *Caravan Ser Raw*, though something improvidently built, the Upper Part being too heavy for the Foundation, it being paved with large Square Stone over the Cloysters, which already begin to press down the Walls, which are most elegantly adorned with Painted Bricks and Polished Marble[2], both too weak for so great a Weight.

As we strove early the next Morning to reach the end of the Plain, being Thirty Miles, and very wide withal, our shivering Joints made us as sensible of Cold, as if the Frozen Bear had hung over our Heads: Nor must we wonder, since the Air is rarified, being soiled by no Lake, River, or Standing Pools, nor near any Sea or Gulph for some Hundreds of Miles; and to this Thinness of the Air another Reason is joined, the Mountain-Tops around this Plain all the Year long are capped with Snow; from whose Ribs the Sun dissolving them, is the only occasion of watering this Valley, where no other Supply can be had, or not so frequent as this; and his hottest Rays are not

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[1] Khushki Zard, some 25 miles by road N. of Asupas. Herbert writes the name in the same way as Fryer (148). "Two days Journey from thence [Mayen] you enter into the Plains of the Province of Cuscuzar, where the King of *Persia* keeps his race horses" (Tavernier, 66, 246).

[2] "We rode over a steepe Mountaine of black shining Marble (and where are Quarries of Serpentine and Porphyre, if the earth were lookt to)" (Herbert, 148).

powerful enough (as 'tis credibly reported by all, though my Eyes I must confess were too short-sighted to inform me, the Summer being far spent, and this more extremely hot than usual), to melt all that fell in the Winter-Season; to which I appearing unbelieving, there was present a poor Rustick, who for a small Reward proffered to bring me a Piece to convince me; but having seen it nearer the Port, I did not think it impossible.

We kept on to *Degurdu*[1], signifying the Walnut Town, where grew never an one, and lodged our selves here before Noon, the Sun not in the least annoying us.

The Day after we Marched Two and Thirty Miles to *Esduchos*[2]: But before we exchanged *Degurdu* for this place, we accosted a Black Marble Mountain, worn as smooth as Glass, and as slippery as Ice, by the constant footing of all sorts of Animals, so that we slode step by step, as our Horses do in deep Way, with this only

[1] Dehgerdu of Curzon's map (ii, 60). Pers. *dih-girdu*, "walnut village." Herbert (148) writes Degardow: Tavernier (246) "Dehigherdou, or the village of wall-nuts."

[2] Herbert (148), writing Yezdicaws, is nearer the original name of this remarkable place than Fryer. It is Yezdikhast, explained by old writers to be a Pehlevi word signifying "God willed it." It has been described by many writers. "Yezdikhast is, truly enough, built on the top of a remarkable rock, and this rock does stand in the middle of a deep valley: but the latter, so far from being a valley in the ordinary acceptation of the term, is a deep gash or trench cut down to a depth of over 100 feet, without the slightest warning, in the middle of the plain, the edge being as clearly defined as Shakespeare's Cliff at Dover. One is almost on the brink of the gully before one is aware of its existence. At the bottom flows a swift and dirty stream towards the east. ...I own I should never myself have detected any analogy to the hanging gardens of Babylon" (Curzon, ii, 66 ff.). Compare Goldsmid, 196. Illustrations will be found in Curzon (ii, 66): Goldsmid (226): Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles* (330). It is the Yezdecas of Tavernier (246), who quotes a common proverb: "That to live happy, a Man must have a wife of Yezd, eat the bread of Yezdecas, and drink the wine of Schiras." Browne (p. 224) writes the name Yezdi Khwāst, which is doubtless correct, adding that "what is called the *sar-ḥadd*, a summer road, bears to the south-west into the mountains; while the *garmsir*, or winter road, crosses the chasm or valley below Yezdikhwást, and trends towards the south-east." The former was Fryer's route. See also on these routes, Goldsmid, 192.

advantage, that we had found Bottom: Beneath this a small Plain led us to the brink of a vast Precipice, the utmost Limits of *Pharsestan*, or the Old *Persian* Realm; here a deep broad Ditch, through which a troubled muddy Rivulet runs under a Stone Bridge, (the whole being not Broader than our *Thamesis*) parts this Country from *Parthia:* We remained this Night on the *Persian* side, in a Magnificent Brick *Caravan Ser Raw*, Built on the descent into the Trench, which *Westward* on the dry Banks was stored with fine Gardens and fruitful Orchards; over which on the other side was truly verified what might be Fabulously delivered of *Semiramis*'s Pendulous Gardens and Summer-Houses, there being Tenements made over this Moat out of the ancient Fortifications, barring the *Persian* Incroachments on their Confines, whose Mouldring Sands have left the jetting Rocks the bare supporters of these hanging Buildings. The finest Wheat of all the Emperor's Dominions is of the growth of this Soil, the Bread whereof is in highest Esteem.

CHAP. V.

Our Progress into Parthia; *Entrance into* Spahaun, *and Reception there.*

ENTRING *Parthia* by this Mound, or heap of Earth, seemingly cast up on purpose to make this hollow Gulph, we were opposed by no other Mountains till we came to *Moxutebeggy*[1], though we encountred almost in every Village with old Castles made of Mud and almost turned to Earth again; in whose stead, at the Emperor's

[1] Maqṣūd Begī, Maksud Beggi of Curzon's map (ii, 60), about 20 miles N. of Yezdikhast. Herbert (148) calls it De-Moxalbeg. According to Chardin, it took its name from "the late Lord Steward of Persia." "I travell'd...through a plain sow'd with store of grain, and lodg'd in an Inn called Maksonbegui" (Tavernier, 246).

Charge, are maintained many Dovecots, pleasantly seated in Gardens, for the sake of their Dung, to supply the Magazines with Salt-Petre for making Gunpowder, they having none else but what is Foreign.

These Dirt-Forts might lie buried in silence, were it not for the worthy Memory of the Person who first undertook to demolish them, thereby expressing his Faith and Loyalty to his Prince.

For the Renowned *Shaw Abas* being placed in his Throne by the Valour and Conduct of the Trusty *Imaum Cooly Caun*, Maugre all the opposite Factions of Court and Empire, he could not be reckoned to sit firm on his Throne, so long as these Impediments remained in the Hands of either Friend or Foe, because that they not only enabled the Possessors to stand on Terms with the Emperor, but were a sure Refuge, not only to Villains and Traitors, but to Thieves and Robbers, as well as Fugitives that fled from the hands of Justice; whereby they became at once an Obstacle to Trade, Preying on the Subjects at their own pleasure, and became Lurking places, as well as Sanctuaries, to the King's Enemies, bidding Defiance, and many times opposing the Forces of the Empire.

To Suppress which Insolencies, and Revenge himself on Offended Majesty, none under the Imperial Banners appeared a more vigorous Chastiser than this General, behaving himself with that Prowess, that he overthrew the Nests of Robbers, released the People from their Fears, and restored an entire Tranquility to the Monarchy: For which mighty Deeds he received a Reward altogether Injurious and Undeserved; for at his return to Court, being Courteously received with all the Marks of Favour and Royal Complements, his Jealous Master Invited him far from the City into the Woods to Hunt, remote from the Army, whose Life and Delight he was, the better hereby to Intrap him, not being able otherwise to perform his

Design; but even here, when he was Seized by the Command of the Emperor, he was proffered his Escape by his Keepers, which he refused, knowing his Innocence; but this served to enrage *Shaw Abas* the more, so that he could not be quiet till he had the Death of this Great Man; who fell for no other Cause, than Virtue emulated and envied by his Lord, he being too much the People's Darling; which makes that Maxim true, Kings Hate where they Fear, *Reges autem oderint dum metuant*; he having obliged beyond Retaliation[1].

Shaw Abas being otherwise a great Hero, strictly bound himself to the observance of the Rules of Virtue, only where a Jealousy of his Honour was tainted by Popular Air, according to the Axiom of *Julius Cæsar, Si violandum est jus, regnandi causâ violandum, cæteris rebus pietatem colas.*

Moxutebeggy is near Twenty Miles from *Esduchos*, and admits us into a Caravan Built on the Road; through whose Gates all that Travel this Road must pass as under a *Buzzar*, where we took up in a Convenient Room, formerly designed for a Coffee-House, having a Tank of Water in the middle, with broad Seats around, either to Lie or Sit on.

Here among the Tombs I took notice of several Figures on the Grave-Stones; which, because repugnant to the Command of their Prophet, I had a mind to be informed the meaning of, which they told me was only to express the several Ages of the Departed; as one that Died in the strength of his Age (speaking of whom, they term King of the World) had a Lion Deciphered on his

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[1] Imām Qulī Khān, son of 'Alīvardī Beg, the renowned General of Shāh 'Abbās, who fully equalled his father in reputation, was slain, not by Shāh 'Abbās, but by his successor, Shāh Safī (1629–42). The story is told by Malcolm, *H. of Persia*, i, 381 f.

Grave-Stone[1]; many of which I found in sundry places; whereby I am confirmed, that Representations, or Emblems, were not wholly abdicated by the *Persians*; which I suppose also to be a Relick of their *Scythian* Extract, what Power, notwithstanding Religion since introduced, may have over their Consciences, yet this shews their natural Inclination to their Primitive Custom; for *Getæ siquidem Hieroglyphicis ex diversis animalium figuris sepulchra decorabant, quibus tacite vel res gestas, vel officia administrata, vel mores, vel virtutes, aut vitia mortui notârunt: Lupo tyrannum, Agno tranquillum, Porco sordidum, Equo generosum, Leone Regem, Aquilâ fortem exprimebant.* Shering. p. 472. Annot. ultim.

From this Town to *Come Shaw*[2] (*i. e.* the King's Friend) is reckoned Twenty four Miles more, which was a Town of *Caravan Ser Raws*, made of Mud and generally tubilated atop; in which we refused to take up this Summer time, desiring more Air; and for that purpose chose the *Mausolæum* of another Prophet of theirs, *Shaw Rezin*, in the middle of a great Grove of Elms[3].

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[1] Figures of a lion are often found carved on tombstones in Persia. According to Curzon (ii, 299), among the Bakhtiaris, "a rough-hewn lion, whereon are sculped in rude imagery the sword, musket, dagger, powder-flask, and cartridge-belt of the deceased, marks the tribesman's grave." He compares this with that on the graves of the Thebans who died in battle with Philip (*Pausanias*, ix, 40. 10), for which see Frazer's note (v, 209) who gives other examples of the custom in Greece. At Kāzerūn many tombstones were found carved to represent a lion, either as a compliment to the king of beasts, or as extolling the valour of the villagers (Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, 319). Morier (*Second Journey*, 151) gives an illustration of such figures, which are also noticed by Goldsmid (188).

[2] Kumisheh of Curzon's map, the Ḳumishah of Browne (222). Herbert (148) has Comme Shaw: Tavernier Comshe: P. della Valle Komsu: Chardin Comicha.

[3] The blue dome of the Imāmzādah, which Fryer saw, is that of Shāh Razah, who is described by Chardin as a grandson of the Imām Razah: but more probably his brother, and a son of the Imām Mūsa al Kāẓim, "the forbearing." "A confused vision of big pigeon-towers: of a tattered graveyard, to which a crowd was hurrying a newly-deceased corpse, with the strange mixture of irreverence and mourning that characterises a Mussalman funeral; of a tumble-down city with

Under these ran a purling Brook, which fed a Sacred Fishpond full of Fish Dedicated to this Tomb, as appears by their Noses and Finns being hung with Gold Rings; with which odd, and doubtless to them unvalued Adornment, they Swam up and down in the clear Water, and tamely would visit all Comers, for Meat[1]; besides these, here were Ducks devoted to as foppish a Maintenance; which no one dare meddle with under pain of Excommunication and dreadful Anathema's: Which Superstitions I could not but admire to be Licensed among the *Moors*.

As we drew nigher *Spahaun*, the Dovecots[2] were more thick and more stately, they being covered over with a white Plaister, and neater than those we first saw: Of such concern is it to the King to preserve these.

The next Day brought us to *Mayar*[3], Twenty Miles

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crumbling walls and mouldering towers; and of a large blue dome surrounded by old *chenars*, and gleaming fitfully through an opaque whirlwind of dust—still remains in my memory as I think of Kumishah" (Curzon, ii, 62).

[1] These fish were in a tank in the inner court of the Kumishah Mosque. "About three quarters of a League on this side the City stands a neat *Mosquee* with a pond full of fish. But the *Moullahs* will not permit you to catch any, saying that they belong to the Prophet to whom the Mosquee is dedicated" (Tavernier, 245: Curzon, ii, 62 f.). Tavernier (245) also mentions sacred fish at Urfa: "There is no medling with them; for the Turks have a great veneration for these Fish, which they call *Abraham*'s fish." Morier (*Second Journey*, 127. 122) mentions the sacred fish of Kumisheh, and also those at Eklid, which are connected with the Prophet. Ferrier (*Caravan Journey*, 44) saw sacred fish at Navaran, and Bellew (*Journal of a Mission*, 196) at Mukkur. Fish are protected at many sacred places in India, where they are believed to embody the water spirit or the souls of deceased relations (Crooke, *Popular Religion*, ii, 253).

[2] The dove-cotes, which supply the market-gardeners of Ispahān with manure, are described by Curzon (ii, 19), who, in reference to Fryer's statement (vol. ii, 235), remarks that their use to produce saltpetre "is, I confess, new to me." Tavernier (146) says they numbered above 3000. "For every man may build a Pigeon-house upon his own Farm, which yet is very rarely done; all the other Pigeon-houses belong to the King, who draws a greater Revenue from the Dung than from the Pigeons; which Dung, as they prepare it, serves to smoak their Melons." Also see Malcolm, *H. of Persia*, ii, 380: Morier, *Second Journey*, 140 f.: Browne, 195.

[3] Mayar, the Moyeor of Herbert (149), about 25 miles S.S.E. of

farther, (another Town of Country Caravans) through Gravelly, Unfruitful, but Plain way, and good to Travel.

In the Afternoon therefore, we went to *Mirge*[1], Eight Miles more, to an old lonely Inn, where was the last place we rusticated. The Morning following being met by the Citizens of *Spahaun* beyond the *Urchin* Hills[2], Three Miles from *Mirge*, who Congratulating our Arrival, spread in the Highway a noble Table on Carpets furnished with the Delicacies of this Country, which is enough to commend it both for Cold Treat, Fruit, and Wine.

After we had received their Complements, they undertook to be both our Guide and Guard to *Ispahaun*, Three Miles farther, defending us against the unwary Insults of Thieves, with which this place is infested; being a fit place for Robbery among the undiscovered Mazes of the Mountains, especially while the Emperor is Resident with his Army; who living beyond their Pay, are often attempting to maintain their Luxury by such unlawful Enterprises.

From this Avenue we had a fair Prospect of the City, filling the one half of an ample Plain, few Buildings, (besides the High Towers of the Mosques and Palace Gates) shewing themselves, by reason of the high *Chinors*[3], or Sicamores shading the choicest of them; yet the Hills begin to keep a more decent distance, and we passed part of a spacious Field before we Saluted the City; into

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Ispahān. "Mahiar, where there is a very good Inn. But the land between this and *Ispahan* is all very barren and without wood" (Tavernier, 245). For this place, see Curzon, ii, 61: Morier, *First Journey*, 151, *Second Journey*, 127: Browne, 222: Wills, 357.

[1] Marg, 10 miles S.S.E. of Ispahān.

[2] In Fryer's map Vechin: the Urchini pass of Browne (221). Curzon (ii, 61) interprets the name "Pass of the Stairway," from the fact that here steps have been cut in the rock.

[3] Pers. *chināŕ*, *chanār*, the oriental plane, *Platinus orientalis* (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 187). It has always been regarded as sacred, as in the case of the Arbre Sol of Marco Polo (i, 128 ff.). The finest specimen Sykes ever saw was in the Hauz-i-Dak in Kerman (*Ten Thousand Miles*, 152 f.).

which we entred by Two fair Rows of Elms, on each hand one, planted by the sides of the Chrystal Streams, reaching a long way through a broad Street, whose Paved Cawseys Conducted us to the River;

Sic Angustiis à nobis devictis
ad Augusta ferimur.

Which River was Fifty Ells wide, but not Navigable; this Summers drought having made it Fordable in many places, especially now the Emperor fills this place with his Court and confluence of Military Men; the great Commanders and Ministers of State diverting the Channel to their own private Commodity, and for want of this Years Rains, it is hardly sufficient, (they Watering their Gardens therewith) by reason of which unkindly Nurture, both the Beauty and Goodness of the Fruit and Trees do Flag this Autumn.

Here at the Foot of the Bridge[1] waited to bid us Welcome the *Jelfeline* Christians, with the several *Europe* Residents, as *Dutch*, *French*, *Portugal*, and *Russian*, with their respective Trains, Trumpeters with their Ensigns, and Led Horses richly Trapped, with *Shotters* and Pages, besides those of our own, appearing in their greatest Glory; thus Attended we were brought over a most Magnificent Bridge with Arches over our Heads, and on both sides Rails and Galleries to view the River, the Cloysters whereof were Paved with broad Marble, in which were several Niches and open Portals; the upper part was all Brick, the Foundations Black Marble with gradations to the bottom.

[1] The bridge built by 'Alīvardī Khān, general of Shāh 'Abbās, known also as the bridge of Julfa and the Pul-i-Chahār Bāgh, crossing the Zindah-rūd river, the Senderon of Tavernier, Senderuth of Manucci. It has been described by many travellers, such as Herbert, 155: Tavernier, 156: Manucci, i, 36: Morier, *First Journey*, 162: Goldsmid, 560: Curzon, ii, 45 f.: Browne, 197, 218.

Which led us to a stately large Street[1], continued on the other side with equal Gallantry of Buildings and Trees, till we were carried under their Lofty-Ceiled and Stately-Erected *Buzzars*; these Edifices runing into all the busy parts of the City in an almost-joined Stack of Structures, (sometimes directly, other times interfereing) not much unlike our *Westminster-Hall*, with Shops on either Hand, just like them, which is, I confess, the surprizingest piece of Greatness in Honour of Commerce the whole World can boast of, our *Burses* being but Snaps of Buildings to these famous *Buzzars*.

Yet to let you know I am not so foppish an Admirer of Foreign Splendour, as to forget to give the due Reverence to my own Nation; they, as they exceed any thing of that kind with us, the extremity of Heat and Cold which this Country is subject to, obliging them to this Contrivance, for their Customers sake as well as their own, to defend them from the Injury of the Weather; so it would be vain in our Countrymen to attempt it, who enjoy better Houses than these dare seem to Erect; and have a Warehouse in every Shop, when these, at best, have no more to shew than their Stalls, however specious Fabricks they are shrowded under; admitting Lights by Lanthorns a-top, or open Holes, not on the sides, the better to Illustrate their Goods, and cast False Lights on them.

Through these we were directed to the *Midan*[2], or *Hypodrome*, an Oblong Square Court, where the Horses are

[1] The Chahār Bāgh.

[2] The Maidān. "The Mydan or Great Market, is without doubt the most spacious, pleasant, and Aromatick Market in the Universe" (Herbert, 156). "The *Meydan*, or Great *Piazza* of *Ispahan* was the contrivance of the great *Sha-Abas*, who had never done it, if a great Prince of the ancient Race of the Kings of Persia, had not refus'd him the old *Meydan*, with several Priviledges, and the House that stood by it. Thereupon he design'd the new *Piazza*, to draw off the Merchants, and to spoil the Old Market-Place" (Tavernier, 151). See the accounts of it by Curzon (ii, 27): Stack (ii, 25). The polo posts of stone, which marked the course, still survive (Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, 342).

Exercised before the King's Palace, and where are upper and lower Walks, with open Arches for Spectators; not Inferior, though of different Shape, to the old Amphitheatres.

At the Entry the Royal Mosque[1], with its variagated Marble Pillars, possesses the highest end, on whose left hand runs the Front of the Palace; the Gates whereof are guarded by several Brass Basilisks, where several Chevaliers Mounted, as well as Foot Soldiers, stood on Duty, over which is the Imperial Throne, all Covered with Gold:

Regia cujus erat sublimibus alta columnis
Clara micante auro.——[2]

From whence the Emperor beholds the Combats between Lions and Bulls, or *Persian* Rams set to run at one another; the Tournaments of the Nobles Tilting at each other, or on Coursers full Speed, striving to Shoot backward with Bow and Arrow, (after the *Parthian* Custom) at a Golden Bowl fixed on an high Pole, which who Hits by Fixing his Dart, is not only extolled with threefold Praise, but carries the Prize away, and is taken notice of as a Candidate for the next Preferment[3]: Where the Inferior

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[1] The Masjid-i-Shāh, situated in the centre or narrow end of the Maidān, which was erected by Shāh 'Abbās (1612–13). Inside were preserved the blood-stained shirt of the martyred Husain, and a Koran written by the Imām Raza (Curzon, ii, 29: Sykes, 332: Browne, 197).

[2] Ovid, *Metam.* ii, i, for *cujus* reading *Solis.*

[3] "In the midst of the *Piazza* stands a kind of May-pole, or Mast of a Ship, where the People exercise shooting at Birds. When the King comes to shoot, they set a Cup of Gold upon the top of the Mast, which he is to strike down with an Arrow. To which purpose he must ride full speed, nor is he permitted to shoot 'till after he has past the May-Pole, turning himself upon the crupper of his Horse; a remains of the ancient custom of the *Parthians* that kill'd their Enemies flying" (Tavernier, 151: Curzon, ii, 27). Tavernier adds: "The rest of the *Piazza* toward the Palace is always kept clean, without any Shops, because the King comes often abroad in the Evening to see Lions, Bears, Bulls, Rams, Cocks, and all sort of Creatures fight which are brought thither." Shows of this kind were provided for Humāyūn during his exile by Shāh Tahmasp (Erskine, *H. of India*, ii, 287).

Citizens have a share in their Diverting their Prince, by entring the list to Wrestle, and Gladiators sometime have the Honour to Kill one another.

Over-against this Basilick Seat, a Clock-House answers it; as if it had relation to *Homer*'s Fancy, who makes the Hours to preside over Heaven Gates, the Abode of his mighty *Jove*[1].

At the lower end the *Royal Exchange*, or *Queshery*[2], (filled with Plate and Jewels, like our *Lombardstreet*) opens its folding Doors, over whose rising Porch, in stately Turrets, the King's Musick alternately resound and compleat this Noble Square, whose Court is so large, except on such Days as these, as to make room enough for a great Fair. Through this *Queshery*[2] we passed under many Fine *Buzzars*, till we came to our own Palace[3], which was a noble one, both *Siras* and this being the King's Bounty; nor are these mean, being as high as any bestowed, under the Blood-Royal; the Porches shining with Gilded Foliages, Architrave and Marble Pillars, as all the Palaces of their Nobles do; here being resigned we returned

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[1] This clock, not a sun-dial, as Tavernier says, stood above the main arch of the Naqqārah-Khāna, or Music House. According to Olearius, it was made by an Englishman named Festy for Shāh 'Abbās; but the maker having been killed by a Persian, it ever after remained out of order. The bell, with the inscription *Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis mulieribus*, came from a Portuguese nunnery at Ormus. Nearly a hundred years ago it was melted down to make cannon. The clock survived till 1808, when it was removed by Muhammad Husain, Amīn-ud-daula, and Beglerbeg of Ispahān under Fath 'Alī Shāh, on pretence of repairing the fresco in the archway (Curzon, ii, 28: Morier, *First Journey*, 170).

[2] Kachahrī, the Indian Cutcherry or Court-house (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 287). "On one side of the Portal, under the Horologe, are five or six Banks of Jewellers, who there put to sale certain parcels of Pearls, Emeralds, Granats, and Turquoises, which are not of any great value: every parcel being set by itself in a Dish, and the whole Stall covered over with a Silk Net to preserve the Stones from being stoln" (Tavernier, 154).

[3] Manucci (i, 38) speaks of two factories, one English, one Dutch. The India Office letters from Ispahān begin in 1621–2 (Birdwood, *Report*, 51).

Thanks with the best Entertainment this City could afford, before our Friends departed.

Thus we accomplish'd, on the Seventh of *August*, a tedious Journy in the hottest Season of the Year, over desolate parching Sands, and naked Rocks, through all *Persia* into the heart of *Parthia* to *Ispahaun*, not only the Chief City of this vast Empire, where the present Emperor sets up his Standard, with all his moving Forces, but of *Parthia* especially; in which Itinerary the Mountains never forsook us, nor for the greatest part met we with other Water than what was Impure and Filthy, being devoid of the shelter of thick Woods, or Forests to shade us from the sultriness of the Sun; which was the worst inconvenience that pursued us till within a few Days Journy of this City; which though it appear a large Wood spread over the Plain by reason of the abundance of Orchards and Gardens, yet it wants more on that account than any other, (sending at least Twelve Days Journy for their Fuel, which is dearer than Victuals) and is Built with Brick and Mud for lack of Timber.

To the Store of Provisions we carried with us, we never failed of a supply in some part where-ever we came; and for Deer, Antilope, Wild Goat, and Sheep of the Mountains[1], most places made us Presents of them, which with Young Kids is not only a Noble, but Pleasant Food.

From *Bunder Abassee*, or *Gombroon*, to *Spahaun*, is Seven hundred Miles, or an Hundred seventy five *Pharsangs*[2]; which we performed in Thirty two Days, abating the Time for Refreshment, and One Day for our Excursion to *Persepolis*.

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[1] The Ibex, known as *pāsang*, "rock-footed." The wild sheep is *Ovis vignei*, the Urial, found in the Punjab Salt Range and Sulaimān Mountains (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 640).

[2] Herbert (134, 150) gives the distance from Ormus to Shīrāz 108 farsangs or 324 miles: from Persepolis to Ispahān rather over 200 miles. Curzon (ii, 60) reckons 312 miles from Shīrāz to Ispahān.

We were not long here, but we must return the Civilities of those who had honoured us with their Company; when riding through the Town, we lighted on an huge stupendious Pillar, composed of the Skulls of all sorts of Creatures[1], occasioned by an Oath of *Shaw Abas* the Great (of whom they hardly speak without Idolizing his Memory, his Name being invoked when any Commendable or Famous Action is performed; saying, *Shaw Abas*, or *Shabas*[2], as we are wont to say, *Well done*;) for that the Great Men of this Place standing out against his then unsettled Authority, he vowed, That if they persisted to dispute, he would rear a vast Column of their Heads, to the eternal Reproach of their Disobedience; who after some small Capitulation, surrendred upon discretion, considering his implacable Revenge to the Obstinate, and his Natural Propensity to Clemency towards the Submissive; which was not effected so soon, but that he was forced to make use of an Equivocation to salve his Oath, commanding every one of them to bring a decollated Head of some Beast, and lay at his Feet, which accordingly they did; and he placed them into an entire *Coloss*, as a Monument of Obloquy to their Indifferency, and an everlasting Trophy

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[1] Such pillars were common in Persia. "That Columne or Pillar of heads of men and beasts, erected as a Trophy of the King's oath and as a monument of the peoples levity. At the base 'tis twenty foot round and threescore high or thereabouts, for (to my shame I confesse it) I forgot to measure it" (Herbert, 160, who gives an illustration on p. 161). Don Ruy di Clavijo, passing through N. Persia on his embassy from the Castilian King to the Court of the Great Kaan in 1404, saw two towers of human heads set in mud at Damghan (Curzon, i, 288). Chenghiz Khān piled up 70,000 skulls at Ispahān in a pyramid (*Ibid.* ii, 21). The Kajār Eunuch erected a pyramid of 600 skulls at Bam in 1795 (*Ibid.* ii, 253). Nādir Shāh piled up 700 skulls at Kermān (Sykes, *Ten Thousand Miles*, 67). Also see Malcolm, *H. of Persia*, i, 294: Morier, *Second Journey*, 305. Manucci (i, 134) describes similar piles of skulls in India. After the defeat of Sikandar Lodi in 1535 Humāyūn erected a pillar of heads (Erskine, *H. of India*, ii, 519, and see i, 474). Bābar, after his defeat of Rānā Sangā in 1528 reared a skull pillar (Tod, *Annals*, i, 326).

[2] Pers. *Shāh-bāsh*, "Rex fio" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 816).

of his subduing them. It is more than Sixty Feet in height, with a proportionable Circumference enlarged about the Basis, which we could not measure, by reason of Market-Sheds built about it.

Here by the King's Permission are not only allowed, but nourished from the King's Table, all the Begging Friars of the *Romish* Order, with a small Annuity to maintain them in a Pious Manner of Life; this same *Shaw Abas* bestowing on them pretty Dwellings for Convents, with Orchards and Gardens, which they cultivate with their own Hands, live meanly, and up to the Rules of the Poverty prescribed them; gaining for that reason a Reputation and Reverence not only from the Emperor, but the well inclined Subjects; who often by the King's Example send them Meat, Bread, and other Provisions for their Sustenance, and pay them a Respect equal to their own Devotes[1]: And I must needs confess some of them are not only Holy Men, but Discreet and Learned, the Chief of whom is Father *Raphael*, a Capuchin, who has

[1] "The Portuguize Friers have two houses here, of the rule of the *Carmel* and *Augustin*: their Chappell is guilt and furnisht with Organs, Altars, Crucifixes, Images, &c. with which they hope to convert men to the Papacie: but the Armenians love no Innovation, and the Persians in their scale contemne Images: yet they serve for espialls, to send Intelligences to *Goa* and Christendome" (Herbert, 163). "Within the Fortress is a large Field, sow'd every year with Rice and Corn; hard by which stands the House of the Capuchin Friars...It is not far from this old *Meydan*, that the *Austin*-Friars on the one side, and the *Carmelites* on the other have their Habitations" (Tavernier, 151). Manucci (i, 38) found at Ispahān "four churches, one of the Portuguese Augustinians, which the present King caused to be entirely gilded at his own expense, and he went there several times to see our ceremonial. Another church belongs to the barefooted Carmelites, another to the Jesuits, another to the Capuchins." The Augustines, Carmelites, and Capuchins were allowed separate quarters belonging to the Crown in Ispahān: the Jesuits and Dominicans had convents in Julfa. The Augustines were the first European monks who settled here under Antonio di Govea, who in 1598 was sent by the Archbishop of Goa as Ambassador for Spain and Portugal. The Carmelites came as envoys from Pope Clement VIII to Shāh 'Abbās in 1608. The Capuchins were sent out by Richelieu with letters from Louis XIV in 1628 (Curzon, ii, 24).

lived exemplary among them many Years, and is well acquainted with the Country, from whom I must own I received the best and most Authentick Information: And this I speak knowingly of him, That he is no Intruder on Mens Principles, when about to depart this Life, as most of them are, but recommends them to God with their own Conscience.

These walk humbly about the Streets and Markets, discalceated, and in their distinct Habits, none of them mounting an Horse, only the Superior of the *Dominicans*, who being Resident for the *Portugals*, bears a Port suitable to that Character, and lives in a Splendid Palace, with Noble Walks and Gardens: Therein is a Magnificent Chappel, beautified with good Painting, Sculpture, and Rich Ornaments.

Having undergone the Pompous Fatigues of Saluting, and being thereby taught the Formalities of Compliments, more than truly acquainted with the Current of Affairs here; I found it true, That an exalted Pitch of State is more tiresome than a meaner Condition, it being only a more conspicuous Confinement; for not to move abroad without a Retinue, is to have a Supervisor to every Motion, and a Man is less free either to observe or act: Wherefore being tutored before-hand what a Disrepute it was to the Nation whose Title we bore, to appear to its Disgrace, I resolved to avoid that Indecency, and change my *European* Cloaths for a *Persian* Vest and Turbat, that I might walk about undiscovered, without any Reflection to the Publick Minister of my Country, and give my Eyes that Satisfaction my Ears were not capable of receiving; by which Expedient my View was less transient, and I had time to dwell longer on any Object.

The first whereof that attracted my Stay, was to examine the Druggists, whom I found to be all *Jews*, who are very numerous, and live apart, though their Shops are

in common with the Natives in the *Buzzars*, mixed among a Crowd of other Tradesmen; who sell by Retail, and pass without any Brand, having their Synagogues open every Sabbath-day[1]. These are the greatest Brokers, and as cunning, if not exceeding the *Banyans*, who also are in every Corner, lurking to make a Prize.

The Fruiterers place themselves at the Entry, and in the wide open Places under the Chief Cupuloes of their *Buzzars*, vending, besides Fruit, Sherbets of Pomgranats, Prunellaes[2], Limes and Oranges, with Ice and Snow to cool them. Ice dissolved in their Liquors, is as prevalent here as at *Siras*, so that the Poor, have they but a Penny in the World, the one half will go for Bread, and dried Grapes, or Butter-milk, and the other for Snow and Tobacco.

Besides these common *Buzzars*, there are others set apart for choice Commodities, as Silks and Velvets[3], *Sarbaff*[4], that is, Gold and Silver Cloth, Embroidery, *Persian* Carpets, both Woollen and Silk, intermixed with Gold and Silver very costly, which are the peculiar Manufacture of the Country: In these we meet with Merchants of all Nations and Languages, brought hither for the sake of Traffick, who furnish this City with all Foreign Wares, and in exchange carry the Product of this Land into the utmost Parts of the World.

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[1] "Nor want they the knowledge of herbs, drugs, and gums, the Mydan in *Spahawn* abounding in singular variety, and than which, no place in the world can more aptly be termed a Panacaea, a Catholicon, of herbs, of drugs: a Magazein 'gainst all diseases" (Herbert, 234). "From the last gate [that leading to the Armenian bazar] live all the Druggists and Apothecaries" (Tavernier, 153).

[2] Dried plums.

[3] "From the end of the *Porticos* that touch the North-side of the Mosque, live the shop-keepers that sell Sowing-Silk, and small manufactures of Silk, as Ribands, Laces, Garters, and other things of the same nature" (Tavernier, 154).

[4] Pers. *zarbāf*, *zarbāft*, gold brocade.

On which account it is, the *Armenians*[1] being skill'd in all the Intricacies and Subtilties of Trade at home, and travelling with these into the remotest Kingdoms, become by their own Industry, and by being Factors of their own Kindreds Honesty, the Wealthiest Men, being expert at Bargains wherever they come, evading thereby Brokeridge; and studying all the Arts of Thrift, will Travel for Fifty Shillings, where we cannot for Fifty *Thomands*; setting out with a stock of Hard Eggs and a *Metarrah*[2] of Wine, which will last them from *Spahaun* to the Port; riding on a mean Beast, which they sell or ship off for Advance, their only Expence being Horse-meat; travelling with no Attendance, their Matrass serving at once for Horse-cloth, and them to lye on; they are a kind of Privateers in Trade, *No Purchase, no Pay*; they enter the Theatre of Commerce by means of some Benefactor, whose Money they adventure upon, and on Return, a Quarter Part of the Gain is their own: From such Beginnings do they raise sometimes great Fortunes for themselves and Masters.

And from these expatiating the Terrestrial Globe, together with the mix'd Concourse of other Merchants from all Parts it is, that the Commodities of all the Earth are seen in distinct *Buzzars* in this one City, as cheap as in their separate Homes. For beholding the Sack-cloth[3] *Buzzar*, for so they call *English* Cloth, I thought it exceeded *Blackwell*-Hall[4], or any Cloth-Fair in *England*,

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[1] "The *Armenians* of *Zulpha* have this advantage over all the Christians of the East, that they enjoy Lands and Priviledges, the King not permitting the least injustice to be done them, nor that any *Mahometan* should live at *Zulpha*. They have also the priviledge to be as well clad as the *Persians*, and to make use as they do of Bundles of Gold and Silver. Their Wives are also very richly habited, in strip'd Sattins purpl'd with Gold and other rich European Silks." He gives a similar account of their economy in travel (Tavernier, 159).

[2] See vol. i, 335.

[3] Pers. *saqallāṭ*, broadcloth.

[4] Bakewell, Blakewell, or Blackwell Hall, a spacious building on the E. side of Guildhall, or on the W. side of Basinghall St. where

being piled in huge Quantities both in their Shops around the *Buzzar*, and Heaps amidst thereof, of all Sorts, Colours, and Conditions; where I bought a Coat of Broad-Cloth to line with Furrs against the Winter, for Fourteen Shillings the *Cobit*[1], almost equal with our Yard, for what I am sure I have paid Twenty Shillings the Yard at home.

Whereby it was easy to guess, that the Company's Broad-Cloth came to a Bad Market, the Merchants bringing it in Truck for their Goods cheaper from the *Mediterranean*, than the Company could send it, of which at present there is a great Glut: Nor will their Tin fare much better, for that *Tuthinage*[2] brought from the *South*-Seas answers in all respects, if not surpasses the finest of that Metal.

From hence I went to the *Caravan Ser Raws*, stately huge Fabricks of Brick and Stone, bigger than our Inns of Court, but far more uniform, being Three or Four Stories high, with Walks and Galleries; every Country has a separate one, where they lodge whole *Caphalaes* for Sale of *Indian* Cloth, *Turkish*, *Arabian*, *European*, and all manner of Goods from the Four Quarters of the Universe. Here they Rent the Warehouses and Apartments, not Let them out at free-cost, as upon the Roads: The King and Queen, as they have built Royal Ones, receive from them a great Annuity: Some of these *Caravan Ser Raws* with their Goods and Chapmen, resemble most our *Leadenhall* Market and Market-house (not for the Shambles there, which is beyond any other, but) for Hides and Leather from *Bulgaria*[3], *Turky*, and of their own dressing, which excels that we call *Spanish*, or the best Cordevan for

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a weekly market for woollen cloths was held. It lasted till 1820. (Wheatley, *London Past and Present*, i, 92.)

[1] Port. *covado*, a cubit or ell (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 268).

[2] Port. *tutenage*, white copper, zinc, pewter (*Ibid.* 932).

[3] Bulgar or Bolgar leather (Pers. *bulghār*) came from Bolghār on the Volga (*Ibid.* 125).

Fineness, and Shagreen for Durableness; for Bridles, Harnesses, Boots, and Shooes, here are beyond compare.

The next great Buildings are the *Balneos*, to which they go with as much Devotion as to their Temples, not permitting any Heterodox to their Opinion, to Bathe with them[1].

Their Coffee-houses, as they are more publick, are fine Rooms, shining with Lamps in all their *Buzzars*[2].

Nor can we forget another sort of Black Traders, burning Light at Noon-day, which are the Necromancers, whose Shops are bestuck with Candles lighted in every Hole, who pretend to unravel the Secrets of Nature, to discover Things lost, help the foolishly-inquisitive to the Sight of their Absent Lovers, and by their Art can command Fate, and prophesy all things to wheedle their Admirers; which is so general, that they have Proselytes of all Qualities and Degrees[3].

In their high *Buzzar*s no Bakers or Cooks are allowed; and from all but their own separate Stalls, are banished Poulterers and Butchers.

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[1] "The Hummums or Sudatories of this Citie are many and very beautifull; quadrated some, but most be globous" (Herbert, 155). "When a European enters a public bath, it must be by night, stealthily and at some expense" (Lady Sheil, 140). Writing later, Benjamin (90) says that Christians and Jews are never allowed to enter Musalmān baths.

[2] "Upon the North-Front of the *Meydan*, are made under the Portico's separations for Chambers, that look upon the Piazza, where people go to smoak Tobacco and drink Coffee. The seats of these Rooms are plac'd as in so many Amphitheaters, and in the midst of every one stands a large vessel full of running Water, where with their Pipes be cleans'd when they are over foul. All the *Persians* that have any spare time, fail not every day to resort to such places between seven and eight in the Morning, when the Owner of the Room presently brings them every one their Pipes and their Dish of Coffee." Shāh 'Abbās finding that politics were too much discussed in these places, ordered that a Mulla should attend to lecture on the Law, History, or Poetry, and to dismiss the visitors in good time (Tavernier, 154).

[3] Compare the account of the Delhi astrologers in Bernier (243 ff.).

Colleges, Schools, and Temples, are very Magnificent; which will admit of a compleater Discussion in the General Account of this Country.

CHAP. VI.

Carries us to Jelfa; *where is treated of the* Gabers, *or Original* Persians, *the* Armenians, Georgians, *and* Europe *Artisans.*

IN the Interim therefore I shall attend the Agent to *Jelfa*[1], the Abode of the *Armenian* Christians, from whence they receive the Name of *Jelfalines:* We pass to this City through two or three of the Palace-Yards, by a great Gate that brought us to a long Walk planted on both sides with high Sycamors, aspiring like the lofty Cedar, whose Roots are washed with two Streams all the length of it. In the middle is a neat Bridge, built more politely than the other (though the Water has long since forsook the Channel): Leaving the Bridge on the left, we cross the old bottom of the River to the Town, situate in the same manner *Southwark* is from *London.* Here inhabit not only *Armenians*, but the Ancient *Gabers*, who remain here with their Tribes; with some Mechanick *French* (as Jewellers, Gunsmiths, and Watchmakers); and some few *Musslemen*, as Spies rather than Inmates.

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[1] Zulfah. "*Ielphè* is by some writ *Golfa* and *Chi'ulpha*, but I think I have better hit our dialect" (Herbert, 161): the *Chiolpha* of P. della Valle. It lies S. of the Zindah-rūd river, a little W. of the Pul-i-Chahār Bagh. It borrowed its name from that of a town on the river Araxes, in Azarbāījān, whence, in 1604, Shāh 'Abbās transferred several thousand families of Armenians, "where he conceded them the sparse consolation of a revival of their patrimonial name" (Curzon, ii, 51). In Chardin's day Zulfah contained 3400 houses and 30,000 persons, which at five to a family is close to Fryer's estimate (*Ibid.* ii, 52). There is much interesting information about the Zulfah Armenians in Manucci, iv, 182 ff.

Of the *Armenian* Christians here are more than Six thousand Families, besides an innumerable Company of dispersed Husbandmen in the Villages, following their Patriarch in the same Faith.

The *French* are all *Calvinists.*

The *Gabers*[1], or *Gaures,* are the true *Persian* Race, the undoubted Heirs both of their *Gentilism* and Succession, attributing Divine Honour to the Fire, maintaining it always alive in their *Delubriums*, or Places set apart for their Worship; and if by Chance they should let it go out, they must take a Pilgrimage to *Carmania*, where their most Sacred Fire was never extinguished[2], as if it were a Piacular Wickedness to attempt the renewing of it elsewhere, that being preserved by a more than Vestal Care, from the first time the Sun, their Chief Deity, was pleased to enlighten it with Sparks from its own Rays.

The Men and Women are clad with long Vests and Breeches to their Heels, the Hair of the Men appearing under their Caps or Bonnets; the Women have a long Mantle, and are bound about the Head with an Hair-lace, like the Description *Curtius* gives of those conquered after the Ruin of *Persepolis,* who bound their Heads with the Slings they used to slay the Venison they fed on, straggling on the Mountains, and kept in Dens and Caverns of the Earth, which made it a matter of great difficulty to overcome them[3].

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[1] Pers. *gabr*; English *guebre*: cp. *giaour*, Pers. *gaur*, *gor*, the Zoroastrian or Parsi fire-worshippers.

[2] At present at Yezd "four fire-altars, in the prudent obscurity of private houses, contain the undying flame, Moore's 'Yezd's eternal mansion of the Fire'" (Curzon, ii, 241). Dosabhai Framji Karaka (*H. of the Parsis*, ii, 39) describes how at the end of the 18th century Nasarvanji Kohiyar sent the sacred fire all the way from Surat to Yezd.

[3] Muhammadans in Persia now-a-days will not permit the Parsi men to wear the *'abā* or flowing cloak, and restrict them to dingy yellow and brown. No one has interfered with the dress of the women, who wear long, loose jackets of parti-coloured chintzes, and wonderful

These seem to me the most lively Representations of the Figures both on the Rocks, and on the Palace it self at *Persepolis*: These are Instances how momentary the Grandeur of this World is: These, once the Lords of all the Earth that the Ocean washes on this Side, and the *Hellespont* shuts in on the other, forgetful of the Everlasting Name of the *Grand Cyrus*, who first subjugated the *Medes* and *Assyrians* under the *Persian* Yoak, and established the Seat of the Empire among their Renowned Ancestry: These, unhappy for their Sloth and Cowardise, are the reproachful Relicks, nay, Dregs rather of the former Glory of their Name and Nation, which once gave her Laws, as Unalterable Decrees to all People, Nations, and Languages: These thus dwindled and degenerated, are the miserable Posterity of the *Persians*; who for so many Ages have with a tame Patience submitted by a sordid Servitude to those whom their Forefathers would have scorn'd to have admitted to be their Slaves; only that they might idely enjoy their Country Gods, Adore the Eternal Fire, and the Influence of the Sun upon their Altars, now Beastly and Impious more than ever, because they have contaminated them with the Impure Rites and Diabolical Customs of the worst of *Pagans*.

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baggy trousers, a mass of embroidery worked on stripes of various colours. With many checked handkerchiefs wrapping up their heads, they present a very gay appearance, the number of their head-coverings being extraordinary (Miss Sykes, *Through Persia*, 66, 142). The men in Yezd wear long coats of brown cotton striped with white, with white or earth-coloured turbans, and nearly all had beards. "The women are dressed more like the conventional idea of the oriental women one reads of than anything I ever saw before. They are fond of many colours, and have a coloured turban on their heads, a blue or checked skirt, and variegated trousers. They do not veil themselves indoors: yet, judging from what I saw, it would be better if they did, for if they covered all but their eyes, like their Mahomedan sisters, they would at least always have the chance of suggesting to passers-by the possibility of a pretty face below the bright dark eyes which never look old" (MacGregor, i, 73). Browne (370) says that at Yezd the men are not permitted to wear socks, or to bind their turbans tightly and neatly, nor to ride a horse: if mounted even on a donkey they must dismount when they meet a Musulmān. See Curtius, v. 4–6.

For there are some of them Couple together in their Sacred Feasts (as they term them) promiscuously, when they meet in their *Delubriums*, where they spread a clean Table-cloth on the Floor, on which they place their Banquets to inflame their Lascivious Heat, which must be acknowledged to be set on Fire by Hell, whatever the Extract that they Worship as a Spark of the Sun, may be defended to be[1]. When they take away, they strew the foul Cloth with Meal-Flower, and the better to perpetrate their Incestuous Lusts, they put out the Lights, and shifting themselves stark naked, both Men and Women, the Men cast their Breeches on an heap in a Corner of the Room: Which being done, the Women run in the dark to catch as catch can; and whatever Lot they light on, the Lamps being again lighted, they firmly embrace for their Lover, if it be Father or Brother, or any other Relation: And which is still worse, the Night being spent in Bestiality, the nasty Flower (which by their Filthiness either of Vomit or Excrement in which they wallowed like Brutes) is kneaded into a Past, and eaten as a Sacrament to repeat the same ungodly Festival Annually, as if it were a Sacrifice well-pleasing to their Deities. But Propagation after this kind is as odious to Mankind, as offering Children to *Moloch*,

[1] There is no reason to believe these scandals regarding the Parsis, which Fryer doubtless heard from Persians. They resemble the orgies of the Bāmmārgī Sāktas of India. Such customs have been attributed to various Musalmān sectarians in Persia (Benjamin, 353, 355: Wills, 154, 339). Community of women and goods was certainly preached in Persia by Mazdak (Malcolm, *H. of Persia*, i, 104: Rawlinson, *Seventh Monarchy*, 342 ff.). Prof. Browne informs me that there is a tribe of gypsy-like people, called Gawrān or Gārān, near Tabriz, who are popularly supposed to celebrate a yearly festival at which promiscuous intercourse is the chief feature. A similar story is told of the Sūzmanīs. For similar alleged practices among the sect known as Chirāgh-kush, "lamp extinguishers," or Mulāḥida, or Mulḥid, "heretics" see Ney Elias, *H. of the Moghuls of Central Asia*, 218 *n.*; Erskine, *H. of India*, i, 287 *n.*: Layard, *Early Adventures*, i, 217. A. Hamilton (*New Account*, i, 150 f.) tells similar stories of people whom he calls Museys or Molachs at Surat. Modern anthropologists disbelieve these accounts (Westermarck, *H. of Human Marriage*, 51 ff.).

or making them run through the Fire is execrable and abhorrent to Nature: Which made an Ancient Heathen, in detestation of such horrid Crimes offered as grateful Services to the Gods, burst out into this Exclamation: *Every one indeed ought to have a Sense of Religion, and a profound Veneration for their Country-Gods transmitted by Tradition; but that the Immortal Gods should be appeased or pleased with such Wickedness, is the highest Frenzy to believe.*

From these, those of *India* have learnt the same Principles of Religion; and hence it is they agree in their Ceremonies of exposing their Dead in an open Sepulcher, to be torn in pieces by Birds of Prey, and to adore the Sun as a Chief Being, and, subordinate to it, the Four Elements; and here, as there, they are Preferred to no higher Employments than to Cultivate the Earth as Villains, not Inheritors.

Out of the Women are chosen Whores, or Dancers for the Court, and Comedians for the Emperor; who by Gesture, Voice, or Shew, are Licensed to utter things Prophane, Lewd, and Ridiculous to Chast Ears; only to move the itching Vanity of the Courtiers, indulging themselves in Obscenity.

They Feed on Flesh, Live Nastily; whereby that of *Ovid* is appropriated to them, *Trux caper in alis*[1]; being of a Goatish Smell, as well as of a Rampant Temper, that they are rather an Antidote than Provocative to Lechery; so much fallen are they from their primitive Worth, according to the Observation of the *Lyrick* Poet:

> *Ætas Parentum, pejor Avis, tulit*
> *Nos nequiores mox daturos*
> *Progeniem vitiosiorem*[2].

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[1] *Ne trux caper iret in alas*, Ovid, *Ars Amator*. iii, 193.
[2] Horace, *Carm*. iii, vi, 46.

Our Fathers Life much worse than Grandsires Age,
Sees us more Wicked to produce
An Offspring fuller of Abuse.

Contrary to what has been reported by a Laureat in their Commendation:

Ille penes Persas Magus est qui sidera norit,
Qui scit herbarum vires cultumque deorum,
Persepoli facit ista Magos sapientia triplex[1].

He 'mong the *Persians* was a Wise Man thought,
Who knew the Stars and Worship'd as he ought,
Was Skill'd in Plants, and Virtues of them Taught.

Proper Names among them, are *Cusset*[2], *Biram*[3], *Rustam*, but the most general is *Asa*[4]; whereupon I shall let them pass with this Remark, Whether we mayn't here find the Industrious Mr. *Sheringham*'s Labour in search of Truth answer'd in his far-fetch'd *Asæ*; *Asa* being the Commonest Name among the *Gabers*, whom he makes the Companions of *Woden* in his *German* Expedition; which still confirms our Assertion, both of the World's being Repeopled from the *Scythian* Mountains, and of these being Allied to our First Planters, however Degenerate they now appear. Among this Off-scum left to upbraid their Predecessors, are placed the *Armenians*, who are forced to comply to an over-ruling Fate, out of the same necessity that attends

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[1] The original of this has not been traced. Fryer probably took it from Herbert (215), who gives:—

Ille penes Persas Magus est, qui sydera novit,
Qui sciat herbarum vires, cultusque Deorum,
Persepolis facit ista Magos, prudentia triplex.

"A Persian mage he called is
Who knows Herbs, Stars and Deities,
All three learnt in Persepolis."

He says it is from "the Mantuan."

[2] Perhaps Khurshed, "the sun."

[3] Bahrām, the planet Mars: the European Varanes.

[4] Possibly for Ardshīr, Ardashīr, "intrepid." For Parsi names, see Dosabhai Framji Karaka, *H. of the Parsis*, i, 163

the Chance of War, but with a better reserve to their Virtue, which is not altogether so much depressed.

Though the State, for publick Ends, think it convenient to intersperse *Moors* among them, as the *Egyptians* wisely enough did Task-Masters over the *Israelites* in the Land of *Goshen*, to suppress, by a timely foresight, what might prove irremediable by an overgrowing Strength; wherefore one of the *Suffean* Creed is Constituted Governor, to put an end to those Differences they cannot Compose themselves; who have for that purpose a Civil Magistrate of their own, Elected Yearly, to whose Arbitriment, if they submit not, it is their own fault, nor can it be by any means imputed to the Tyranny of the Government, who leave them freely to try their own Causes.

For so it was provided by *Shaw Abas* when he deprived them of their own Princes, and redeemed them from the *Turkish* Slavery; between whose Arms and the *Persians*, they hung miserably harrassed, according to the Successes of eithers Forces, for a long time; removing them from *Erewan*, *Taberez*, and *Syria*, their Native Soil, he Transplanted them to *Jelfa*, and shaded them under the Protection of the Queen-Mother, asserting thereby their Rights and Privileges in an higher manner (abating some little Circumstances) than the *Moors* themselves; by which they became not only safe from their Enemies, but they improved the Glory of *Spahaun* by their unwearied Industry, there being many of them Credible Merchants at this time, accounted worth an Hundred thousand *Thomand* (each *Thomand* being Three Pound and a Noble[1]); so mightily do they increase under this Umbrage, in Riches and Freedom; for whilst they sit lazily at Home, their Factors abroad in all parts of the Earth return to their Hives laden with Honey; to which Exercise, after they

[1] "A Toman is five markes sterlin" (Herbert, 225). For its changes in value, see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 928.

themselves have been brought up, they train their Children under the safe Conduct of Experienced Tutors, who instruct them first to Labour for a Livelihood, before they are permitted to Expend.

Thus this Prince not only expressed himself a good Patron, but a prudent Emperor, by Favouring their Designs, and taking all Occasions from their Adversaries of Injuring them, exposed as they were to open Violence; and at Home Securing them from the Treachery and Envy of his own Subjects; not only allotting them a place over-against his own Palace to Build their City, but encouraging them to Rear Costly and well Endowed Temples, without any Molestation, to the Honour of the Blessed Name of Christ; shaking off thereby the dreadful fear of Captivity, they began to hope for better things, than they could promise themselves in their distressed Condition.

Atque illi primum sperare salutem
Sic Ausi, afflictis melius confidere rebus[1].

Nor was this hope founded on a vain confidence; for he distinguished them neither in Habit, Excise, or Custom, from his own *Persians*, only excepting in one thing, small and inconsiderable in its self, being but an exterior piece of Honour; for it is not lawful, even for those of the best Rank, to Ride into *Spahaun* with their Servants bearing after them their *Coleons*[2], or Glass Vessels, out of which they Smoak Tobacco, by a long Reed, or Cane, fixed into Golden, Silver, or Brass Heads, with other Magnificent Appendices, carried stately behind them, invented to signalize Men of better Fortune among them; and only forbid the *Armenians*; whereby letting them know, however Blessed they are with this World's Goods, yet

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[1] *hic primum Aeneas sperare salutem*
Ausus, et afflictis melius confidere rebus.
Vergil, *Aen.* i, 451 f.

[2] Pers. *qaliyūn*, a water-pipe (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson* 147).

they were to appear in the Royal City only as Merchants: Which thing, how silly and trivial it is in reality, and to Wise Men is but an wholesome Admonition, yet it has been but too often the ground of Apostatizing from their Heavenly Institution; it seeming a Curb to Ambitious and Aspiring Spirits, who prefer the Pleasures and Pomp of this Life, short and uncertain as they are, before those more Permanent in the Assurance of the Life to come; and are as little in love with their own Country Manners, as they are tenacious of the Religion of their Forefathers; shipwrecking thereby, Faith and a good Conscience, for the affectation of the adulterate and glossy Customs in esteem among the *Persians*, to which indeed they generally incline.

On which score it is their Women are little conversant with the Men, so that Women here, (more than any where else) are truly Women, and nothing more; the Men here being unexpert how far the Friendly Offices, a Graceful Mein, and Innocent Discourse, wins among more refined Christians from the becoming Behaviour of that Sex.

In heaping up Riches they stoop to any base means, for they arise from the most avaritious Temper: In their Profuseness they are rather Specious and for Shew, than Generous.

They have sumptuous Houses, Enriched either by being Merchants, or Interpreters to Foreign Ministers, they being addicted to Learn Languages; few care for Manual Arts, or Mechanick Trades, though some apply themselves to Husbandry.

They are great Revellers, and like long Feasting; have as much Religion as serves their turn: Their Rusticks are truly such; and such as are employed in necessary Vocations and inferior Callings, are Sluttish and Slothful.

Their Speech, as well as Character, is their own, and if it borrow any thing, it is from the *Greek*; by which it is

polished from its Barbarity, and reduced to a more Modish Dialect.

Established thus by the King's Favour, they cannot but be excited as a grateful return to the Disposer of the Hearts of Kings, and the Giver of all things, to pay a Tribute of their Increase in Building and Adorning stately Churches to that God who is King of kings, and Lord of lords; bestowing largely both towards their Beautifying in every kind, as being sufficiently stored with the best Patterns, as well as precious Substance, by their constant Travelling and rich Adventures, as also towards a plentiful Allowance.

By whose Munificence and Charge, besides Colleges and Convents for Monasticks, are Thirteen Parish Churches, and a Cathedral[1], whose Description shall serve for all: The Majesty of the Mother-Church at *Jelfa*, rises not to that Loftiness, either to Offend the Eyes with its Splendor, or to create a Jealousy, from its prodigious Structure, of another Tower of *Babel*; but keeps the mean, as truly becomes the place separated for the Service of the only True God; not so spacious as neat, leaning on Four Pillars, which bear an Oval Lanthorn, or Crown, over the Center of the Dome, by which the chief Lights are transmitted to the rest of the Building, and by them the Temple divided into four parts; the first whereof is almost all taken up by the High Altar, Garnished with the Images of the Blessed Mother, and the Holy Child Jesus, unless a small Ascent left for the Singers, the Bishops Chair, and for Persons of Quality among them; the Side-Wings and the Middle

[1] "Entering the main building we find that its shape is a parallelogram, consisting of two squares, with a semicircular apse at the end. The first square is the nave, the second is the choir beneath a dome. A wainscotting of ornamental tiles runs round the base, and above this the walls are covered with strange old paintings of rich and sombre hue" (Curzon, ii, 54). Tavernier (13) gives an account of the building and ritual.

half way down the Nave, being left for the Men; all the rest is Occupied by the Women, even to the very Folding Doors of the Temple; the Roof or Vault of the Arches, the Side-Walls and Posts of the Cathedral, are all Painted with Sacred Histories; and had it not been for fear of the *Moors*, after the Decease of their Patron *Shaw Abas*, who envied them so Magnificent a Pile, they would have known no measure to the desire of enlarging, nor could have ever thought it venust enough, whilst they abounded with Pious Benefactors; but to this Enterprize there wanted not Obstructions, even in their own Bowels. For every perverse Apostate, on any pretence of Quarrel among themselves, to obtain an unjust Victory over his Antagonist, has no more to do, but throw away his Soul, Renounce his Saviour, be Cut, and made a *Musselman*; offering himself a Sacrifice to his Malice, Pride, and Revenge, and thence of a Convert, becomes an implacable Enemy to Christianity; and endeavouring to shew himself a sincere Prosylite, grows a great Bigot for his new Profession, and the more to ingratiate himself with Antichrist, studiously bends himself to the Ruin of that Church he deserted; whence follows an assured Spoil, and Sacrilegious Rapin, when he declares the exuberant Treasure, the vast Profuseness and Prodigality of the Christians on their Churches, concluding all with an Invective against their Idolatrous Worship: However such as pertinaciously adhere to the true Doctrine of Christ, and the received Ceremonies of the *Armenian* Church (their Nobility by the Hardship of War being long since extinct) acknowledge Three Patriarchs as Head in Ecclesiastical Affairs, though Anciently they had but one Patriarch, Primate of all *Armenia*, and Successor to St. *Gregory*.

For upon the Glorious Ascent of our Lord Jesus Christ into Heaven, the Holy Apostles, St. *Bartholomew* and

St. *Thadæus*[1], in pursuance of the Commission they had received by the Inspiration of the Divine Spirit, with the rest of the Apostles, to go and Teach the Gospel to all Nations, had their Lot to be Missionaries in the Regions of *Armenia*; where they compleated their Martyrdom under *Sanatrughio*[2] the King of the *Armenians*, who Slew them, not before they had gained many Disciples.

From which time, Two hundred Years being past, arose the Valiant Champion for the Christian Faith, St. *Gregory*[3], the true Inheritor of the Apostolick Seat; in whose Days 'tis unspeakable to declare what streams of Blood of the Evangelical Martyrs watered the *Armenian* Earth, before the ever-to-be Canonized Patriarch St. *Gregory* could bring forth the budding Fruit of the Gospel to perfect Maturity.

In Mount *Ararat*, under the Persecution of *Dioclesian* and *Maximinian*, fell Ten thousand to the Lust of the Tyrants, besides many others in other places. The Holy Patriarch himself is said to suffer Fifteen Years Maceration in a Well, where he was privately relieved by the daily Charity of a poor Godly Woman, who cast therein a piece of Bread for his constant Sustenance, when it was believed on all hands that he had been dispatch'd by the cruel Commands of *Tyridates*[4]; who reflecting afterwards with

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[1] The story of the missionary journey and martyrdom of St Bartholomew is generally discredited. Eusebius (*H.E.* i, 12) tells the story of the mission of Thaddaeus to King Abgar of Edessa: but there is no historical evidence of his martyrdom. See Smith, *Dict. Christ. Biog. s.vv.*: Hastings, *Dict. of the Bible*, iv, 741 ff.: Fortescue, *The Armenian Church founded by St Gregory the Illuminator* (1872), p. 17. "The mission of Thaddaeus seems to rest on an historical basis, however overlaid by later accumulation of legendary adornment" (Smith, i, 163).

[2] Sanadrug, the legendary pagan king, who figures in the tale of the early conversion of Armenia.

[3] St Gregory Lusavoritch, the Illuminator, born 257 A.D.: commenced his labours in the first year of the 4th cent.; in 331 retired to a monastery on Mt Sepuls, where he resided till his death (Fortescue, 17 ff.).

[4] Tiridates (Tirdat), son of Chosroes (c. A.D. 238–314), after the

Remorse on his rash Precept, took him from that stinking Dungeon, and endured his Reproof for his Bestiality towards the Good Man, and became an hearty Penitent for his inhuman Usage, and other Prevarications of his Life, and from a Salvage Prince rendred himself a tame Follower of the Patriarch St. *Gregory*, who ruled the Church Thirty Years: From whom the *Armenians* received their Consecrated Bishops, Priests, and Monastick Orders, called *Vortobeeds*[1], who profess Celibacy, and are as much as to say, *Masters*, going out with the Formality of a Pastoral Staff and Bible; who are generally such Teachers whose Cogency of Practice and Instruction no other Church surpassed, while they held the Orthodoxy of their Founder.

Which might still have continued, had not that Instigator of Ills, and Stirrer up of Strife, by his restless and mischievous Machinations purposely forbid its Durance, by maliciously sowing Tares among the Wheat: Whence sprang up so many Monsters without Heads, blown up by *Eunomians* and *Apollinarians*, and that Pestilent *Arian* Heresy which spread its Infection over the whole Face of the Christian Churches, maintaining, That God the Son was not of the same Substance, ὁμούσιον, with God the Father; which after it was crept in here, *Arastarces*[2], the Son and immediate Successor of St. *Gregory*, although he was present at the *Nicene* Council for that purpose, could not by all his Pains and Endeavours repel.

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massacre of the royal family, fled to Rome, and afterwards, with the help of the Romans, established himself on the throne (*Ency. Brit.*[11], ii, 568).

[1] Armenian *vardapet*, "doctor." "There is also an order of superior priests called Vartabeds, whose particular function is to preach the Gospel, and to instruct the ignorant in the principles of their religion. In rank and position they seem to answer to the Chorepiscopi of ancient times" (Fortescue, 128).

[2] St Gregory was succeeded by his two sons, of whom Rostaces (Aristaces) sat for two, and Bardanes three years (Smith, i, 163: Fortescue, 19).

After whom (the space of Sixty or Seventy Years being first spent) St. *Basil*[1] illuminated the lower *Armenia*.

In the Time of *Sourmach*[2], false Patriarchs were foisted on them by the Mandates of the *Persian* Kings, when some began to celebrate the Nativity of our Saviour on one and the same Day with the *Epiphany*, which is on the Sixth of *January*; and that while *John Chrysostom*, the Golden-Tongued Orator, survived.

About this time there flourished in *Armenia* a Famous Learned Hermit, called *Mesrob*[3], who first disposed the Languages of the *Georgians* as well as *Armenians*, into their proper Alphabets, with an admirable Exactness and Accuracy.

In the Year of our Redemption Four hundred thirty five, Four Years after the *Ephesian* Synod, (in which the Writings of *Theodorus Mopsuistius*, and *Diodorus* the *Tharsian*, from whom *Nestorius* sucked the Poyson of his pernicious Opinions, were publickly condemned;) by Command of the Emperor of *Persia*, *Nierses Pacriveruanus*[4] called a Synod at *Thevin*, where by a Decree passed by the greater Suffrage, it was confirmed, That the Nativity and Baptism should be kept on the same Day; giving this Reason, That as Christ was conjointly God and Man, so it was fit the Festival of his Birth and Baptism should be jointly observed on one and the same Day, and not

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[1] St Basil, the Great, c. 330–379 A.D.

[2] St Isaac was deposed about 440 A.D., and was succeeded by Sormac or Sirmac (Fortescue, 38). Mr F. C. Conybeare writes: "Surmak was a nationalist Catholicos, who, however, did not originate the custom of feasting the Birth and Baptism of Christ together at the Epiphany feast of January 6, for this conjunction was the rule in all great Christian centres roughly between 350 to 440 A.D."

[3] St Isaac, in conjunction with St Miesrop, invented the Armenian and Georgian alphabets (Fortescue, 20).

[4] Nierses Dacriveruanus took his name from the Dagrevand canton. Mr Conybeare writes: "The Council of Thevin, *i.e.* Divin on the Araxes, did not 'acknowledge the two distinct natures in Christ, as confounding their properties.' It did just the opposite."

separately on two Days; which Synod also added to the Hymn of the *Trisagium*[1] now used in the *Greek* Church, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος ὁ θεὸς, ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, ἅγιος ἀθάνατος ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς; *Qui crucifixus pro nobis; Holy, Holy, Holy, Almighty and Immortal God, who was crucified for us, have Mercy upon us:* Forbidding the *Armenians* to go to *Jerusalem* on Pilgrimage, or to unite with the *Greek* Church. Whereupon ensued the over-running of these Parts in those Days with the abominable Weeds of False Doctrine of the *Acephali*[2] Sectarians, said to be without an Head, because none is known to be their Author, or else because they owned no Bishops: They acknowledged two distinct Natures in Christ, so confounding their Properties, as a Drop of Vinegar dropped into the Sea, loses its Qualities: Which Headless Sect sprung up in the *East* at first, and opposed one another with many Armed Heads; but afterwards confederated upon the Death of the Sacrilegious *Diascorus*[3], whom they villanously defended, contrary to the Sacred Synod held at *Chalcedon.* This Blast pestered not only the inferior *Syria*, but spread its deadly Effects over all *Egypt*, by the Contagion *Severus* Bishop of *Antioch* had sucked in, from whom they were denominated *Severians:* And as the Saying is, *Ill Weeds grow with speed*, so from the same Root grew that horrible shap'd and preposterous *Julian* Birth, from whom came the *Julianists*; and from their several ill-begetting Sires,

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[1] The Trisagion in its Western form runs: Ἅγιος ὁ θεὸς, Ἅγιος ἰσχυρὸς, Ἅγιος ἀθάνατος ἐλέησον ἡμᾶς. See Smith, *Dict. Christ. Antiq. s.v.* Also see Neale-Littledale, *Liturgies of S. Mark, S. James, S. Clement, S. Chrysostom, S. Basil, and the Formulae of the Apostolic Constitutions*[2], p. 6. On the controversy between the Eastern and Western Churches, Bingham, *Origines Ecclesiasticae* (ed. 1840), iv, 452 ff.

[2] Mr Conybeare writes: "The Acephali were a learned sect in the second century, who denied the Apostolic authorship of the Johannine writings. I do not know what they are doing here."

[3] Dioscorus, Patriarch of Alexandria.

the *Gaunits*, *Theodosians*, *Bersanians*[1]; and at last the most deformed of all, by the unhappy Labour of *Jacob* the *Syrian*, was produced the *Jacobites*, who jumbling together with the *Acephali* and *Monosyphites*[2], they confess the One Nature in Christ to be compounded of Two after the Union: With the *Theodosian Theopassits*[3], they assert the Divinity of our Saviour to be Passible; and with the *Julianists*, *Gaianists*, and *Apthardocits*, affirm the Body of Christ to be altogether Corruptible; from whence they are nicknamed *Corrupticulæ* and *Phantaistæ*[4].

Under *Abraham Rusidianus*[5], the *Iberians*, now called *Georgians*, departed from the *Armenians*, and embracing the *Chalcedonian* and *Ephesian* Councils, were reconciled to the *Greek* Church.

In the Year of our Redemption, 551, *Moyses Arcazuodanus*[6] placed the *Turkish* Computation in the *Armenian Kalender*, which began about this Time; which number, if it be added to the Thousand of the *Armenians*, makes

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[1] Mr Conybeare writes: "The Gaunits must be the so-called Gaianites, from Gaianus Monophysite patriarch (A.D. 557) of Alexandria. The Bersanians are perhaps followers of the Syrian Bar Samma or Barsumas: see Smith, *Dict. Christ. Biog.*

[2] Monophysites. [3] Theopaschitae.

[4] "The Gaianists and Apthartodoketae affirmed the Body of Christ to be altogether incorruptible, and not the opposite, as the text wrongly says. Their nickname must rather have been Incorrupticulae" (Conybeare).

[5] Apparently Abraham I, Bishop of Reshtuni, born at Haxbattan, Catholicos, c. 594.

[6] Moyses Arcazuodanas, *i.e.* Moses II of Elivard of the clan Aragodz, Catholicos in 551. Mr Conybeare writes: "What the *Turkish* computation had to do with the Armenian era, of which the beginning was fixed A.D. 551, I do not know." "The Armenians have a date of their own, according to which they count their years, which commences with the year 552 of the Dionysian era. This system was invented by the Catholicos Moses II, who in the year 551 succeeded to the Patriarchal throne of Etchmiadzine, and remodelled and corrected the Armenian Calendar, introducing at the same time a new era, commencing with the first year of his own reign. The Armenians have ever since calculated their time according to his method; consequently the present year 1871 is with them 1320 of the Haian era" (Fortescue, 40 f.).

out their *Gregorian* Account, which they follow, and not that of our Lord. In the Reign of this Patriarch, while the Universal Church were busied in corroborating the Four General Councils, to wit, the *Nicene*, *Constantinopolitan*, *Ephesian*, and *Chalcedonian*, *Armenia* was employed in resisting and opposing their Determination. When was revived that filthy Sect of the *Manechites*[1]; which sort of Hereticks had inhabited *Armenia* before, receiving their Name from a *Persian*, who was called *Manes*; he denied the Trinity and the Old Testament, and held Two Principles, the one of Good, and the other of Evil: By whose Inauspicious Influence, and the Incursions of the *Saracens* and *Tartars* invading and subduing the *Persians*, all the hopes of reconciling the *Grecian* Church, and extirpating those Heresies, vanished.

But on the contrary, in Process of Time they withdrew from their Primitive Patriarch, into the setting up of Two more; so the See of St. *Gregory* became divided, and they despised the Holy Well of *Vagarsciebat*[2]; for at *Erewan*, near *Taberez*, or *Taurus*[3], they translated the Metropolitan; which gave occasion to the Bishop of *Sis* to set up for Patriarch at *Sis* in *Cilicia*; and the Monastry of *Causabar*[4] pleading Antiquity, lying towards *Candahar*, on that Prescript refused Obedience to any but their own Patriarch.

By which Seraphick Triumvirate they are now governed, owning no other Head of the Church.

But before we descend into the particular Tenents still maintained by them, it will not be amiss to note, That from the Time of St. *Gregory* to this Division, was Four hundred

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[1] Manichaeans.

[2] Mr Conybeare writes: "The pit (*Khorvirap*) into which Gregory was thrown was not at Valarshapat, but at Artashadlon the river Araxes."

[3] Why Fryer connects these it is impossible to say.

[4] Mr Conybeare says: "I never heard of any such. Query, Canton of Kandarg?"

twenty five Years, in which there were Thirty three Patriarchs, agreeable to their own Annals; I having herein consulted their own unbiass'd Chronologers, and by their Authority corrected *Galenus*[1], when tripping in Partiality to the Papal Authority.

	Years		Years
St. *Gregory*	30	1 *Christopher*	5
Aristarces	7	*Leontius*	2
Verthanes	5	2 *Nierses*	5
Hesechius	6	2 *John*	15
Parniersh	5	*Moyses*	30
1 *Nierses*	34	*Abraham*	23
1 *Isaac*	4	3 *John*	26
Zaven	4	*Chomitas*	8
Asburaches	5	2 *Christopher*	5
Surmach	6	*Jeser*	10
Joseph	2	3 *Nierses*	20
Chyut	15	*Anastasius*	6
1 *John*	12	*Israel*	6
Samuel	5	3 *Isaac*	29
Guodanus	6	*Elias*	24[2]
2 *Isaac*	5		

The Series after this Succession of Patriarchs, as it was immediately puddled with the Mud of Heresy, so it often was disturbed by the Imposition of the Secular Power,

[1] Mr Conybeare says: "Clemens Galanus, who published at Rome (*typis Propaganda Fide*) in 1650 his *Conciliatio Ecclesiae Armenae cum Ecclesia Romana* which Fryer had read and borrows from."

[2] The succession as given in Smith, *Dict. Christ. Biog.* i, 163 ff. runs: St Gregory, Rostaces, Bardanes, Gregory II, Josec, Pharnesec, Norseses, Josec II, Zaganes, Aspuraces, St Isaac, Sormac, Persicus, Musulins, Joseph, Citus or Kyut, John I, Apovipcenes or Papchen I, Samuel, Museles or Moses, Isaac II, Christopher, Leontius, Norseses II Byaneses, Moses II, Taron, Chosroes II, Abraham, Cometas, Christopher II, John, Norseses III, Anastasius, Isaac III, Elias, John III. Mr Conybeare remarks: "This list in Fryer seems to be connected with one in the Greek tract *De rebus Armeniae*, printed by Combefis, Paris 1648 in *Historia Monothelitarum* (reprinted in Migne) p. 274."

forcing not only Ignorant but Ungodly Men upon them; who now at this Time have their *Conge d'Eslire* from a Prince of another Religion, and many times purchase it by Simoniacal Contracts: So that the Purity of Christianity cannot be expected, where Gain is made of Godliness, and these high Cures of Souls are bought and sold; entring upon them with the Emperor's License, not the Approbation of their own Clergy; not by Desert and Merit, but by Fraud and Circumvention: And whereas Humility and Godliness, Learning and Ingenuity, should be the Qualifications, now Pride and Envy, great Gifts with Stupidity are exalted: And which is most deplorable, generally such Men are put into the Patriarchates as are most odious to them; whence it comes to pass, that these Prelates have as little Integrity as Orthodoxy, they favouring the *Jacobites* even to this day.

They are confident in the Superstitious Omens of the Heathens.

Judaize in the Choice of Meats, not eating Conies or Pork.

Assert the One Nature in Christ, according to *Dioscorus*.

Hold that the Holy Ghost proceeds not from the Son, according to the Error of the *Greek* Church[1].

That the Souls of Saints departed enter not into the Kingdom of Heaven, nor of the Wicked into Hell, but are in the Middle Region of the Air, expecting the Day of Judgment.

And therefore Pray for the Dead.

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[1] "Europeans formally (at least those who are aware of the existence of this Church) believe that the Armenian Church teaches heresy regarding the two Natures of Christ. This is not really the case; on matters of faith the Armenian Church is, without doubt, at one with the Orthodox Eastern Church, and only separated by questions of jurisdiction, and matters of discipline" (Fortescue, 211 f.).

Detest the Council of *Chalcedon.*

They have Five Sacraments, leaving out Confirmation and Extreme Unction, which makes theirs less by Two than the Papists.

They buy and sell the Sacraments of the Church for a Price.

The Clergymen Merchandize.

They make Divorces for Money.

The Substance of the Deceased fall into their hands, till the Right Heir redeem them.

They administer the Sacraments to Children, before the Use of Right Reason.

They deny the Superiority or Primacy to the *Romish* Church, and they use this Interrogation for an Argument, 'Why rather That than the Church of *Antioch*, in which 'City we were first called Christians, by the Preaching of St. *Peter*?

They are against Purgatory. For which reason the *Romanists* affix the Error of the *Abassins* upon them, Of Cauterizing when they Baptize Infants[1], or initiate any into the Church; according to the Words of St. *John, He shall baptize you with the Holy Ghost, and with Fire*; taking the Words literally: Wherefore the *Abassins*, not the *Armenians*, are called St. *John*'s Christians[2].

They distribute the Eucharist in both kinds to the People, in Commemoration of the Body of Christ, dipping

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[1] "Baptisme they celebrate after the Eutichyan sort, as *Iacobus* (father of the Iacobites) and *Johannes Philiponus Anno Dom* 550 mistaught them: the proselit Gentiles or Mohumedans in the forehead with a burning crosse, others they baptise with two fingers, and signe the Infant with the crosse, as glorying in the hyerogliphick the Jews and Mussulmen esteeme so ignominiously of" (Herbert, 152). Mr Conybeare writes: "The medieval Cathars had a baptism by fire: the custom of young people leaping through the fires lit at Epiphany continues in Armenia, so Dr Issaverdeuz of Venice has told me." The modern ritual is given by Fortescue, 291 ff.

[2] An old misnomer for the Mandeans

the Wafer into the Wine and Water mixed together, and then give it to the Communicants.

They wrap the Word of God in a clean Piece of Silk, which when the Priest unfolds, he kisses the Bible, and bows: The like Ceremony is used at the Elevation of the Host, which he gives to all alike to salute, as also both the Testaments.

These are the Customs and Opinions divulged and maintained by their Patriarchs, to whom great Honour is paid; being introduced into their several Sees as well by the Pomp of the *Moors* as the Solemnity of the Christians: The *Cauns*[1] of the Provinces conducting them with all their Train, and Forces of Horse and Foot, with Banners flying, and loud Musick resounding, great Guns discharging, and all the Expressions of Joy congratulating their Instalment, and the King's Favour towards them.

The Clergy meet them in their several Habits; the Laity also shew their Gallantry, and the Patriarchs themselves are in their Holy Vestments, Rich Copes, Mitres, and Crosiers, beset with inestimable Jewels. They are distinguished from the Bishops by wearing Rings on their Fingers, embellished with Diamonds, whereas the Bishops wear only plain Gold Rings. Their Pontificals being put off, they walk in a Black Gown with a Mitred Hood and Pastoral Staff, as do the *Vortobeeds*, who are the learned'st and best esteem'd of all their Orders, and in absence of the Patriarch and Bishops exercise all the Pontifical Functions: These are Eloquent Preachers in their Pulpits; these only vow Chastity, and what is more strict, endure not the sight of a Woman; and if in the Street by chance they meet one, they presently turn their Backs; and if they have any Business in that part of the Church allotted them by

[1] Khān.

Custom, they commit not themselves to them, but cause them to be drove away, before they will read the Service.

At *Jelfa* some Forty of these live a Celibate Life, at the Monastry joining to the Cathedral, in Cells and Cloysters, with an Archbishop of the same Order, faring hardly, and living devoutly.

The Archbishop of *Jelfa* submits his Province to the Patriarch of *Vagarsiabat*[1]; he is a goodly Reverend Old Man, snowed with Age, but not worn with it; he has a Countenance of Sanctity apparent in his Looks, worthy the Gravity of so Eminent a Dignity.

The other Orders of the Clergy, whether Priests, Deacons, Canons, or Choristers, use Christian Liberty in respect of Matrimony, it being disallowed none but the *Vortobeeds:* They are distinguished no other ways from the Rusticks, than their wearing Blue Vests, Turbats, and Tunicks, as they do, unless a long Cloak, or Gown of Black over all, points them out to be an *Armenian* Father, or an Ecclesiastick in Orders: They are shaved as the *Romans* are, and uncover their Heads in Salutation; they are constant Frequenters of their Churches, and have Lamps always burning in them; and every one takes his turn in the Order of the Priesthood, to wait Day and Night in the Temples, according to the *Mosaick* Institution, to whom are appointed Lodgings adjoining to their Churches; at other Times they live with their Families in the City: Every one approaching them pays them a Reverence, and begs their Blessing, kissing the Hem of their Garments, which the Priests return to the *Vortobeeds*, the *Vortobeeds* to the Bishops, and the Bishops to the Patriarchs.

Having been present at their Masses for the Dead, for Infants in Baptism, and for the Husband and Wife new-married; I shall thence take occasion to relate in short

[1] Vagarshapat, the old name of the bishopric of Echmiadzin (Fortescue, 18: *Ency. Brit.*[11], viii, 883 f.).

their Banquets, Fasts, and Ceremonies used on their Celebrating these Rites.

We shall begin with their first Admission into the Pale of the Church. While they are at Divine Service a proper Mass is said, when the Midwife or Nurse brings the Child to Church, with a Tribe of Women, where she delivers it to the Godfather, who carries it to the Minister waiting at the Font on the Right Side beneath the Altar, who unwinding the Swathes, receives the Infant naked, and his Thumb being anointed with consecrated Oyl or Balsom, signs it with the Sign of the Cross, not only on the Forhead, but on the Breast and Back, Feet and Arms, and all the other Parts of the Body: After this, pouring of the same Chrysm into the warm Water in the Font, reciting some special Prayers, and dipping the Crucifix into it, it becomes an Hallowed Bath, in which the Babe is washed all over by the Priest: When it is taken out, it is crossed from Head to Foot, and spitting into the Ears and Eyes[1] it is dismiss'd with an Amulet hung at its Breast for Eight Days, as a Charm against Witchcraft, and restored to the Women to be cloathed. The Mass being done, the Guests return to the House of the Parents, with a Noise of Musick before them, and the Choir in Procession singing Anthems, where they all make merry before they depart. If it be a Girl it is Espoused immediately after Baptism, to prevent its being sent for into the *Haram* by the

[1] Mr Conybeare writes: "I never heard of the priest spitting in the ears and eyes of the baptised. Perhaps the Roman missionaries introduced such a custom. The baptised wear a crown and also a colored fillet (*narot*) which was removed on the 8th day. The oldest form of all these rites is given in my *Rituale Armenorum* (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1905)." "The priest's touching with his spittle the ears and nostrils of the infant or catachumen, saying 'Ephphetha,' is obviously connected with passages in the Gospels; its adoption as a baptismal ceremony has been compared, perhaps justly, with the classical lustration by spittle" (Tylor, *Primitive Culture*[2], ii, 441).

Emperor, who pretends a Power over them to chuse for his own use out of those not betrothed.

The great Festivity of the Birth and Baptism of our Saviour, observed on the 6th of *January*, is celebrated with Rites of the like nature, for they consecrate the Tank or Cistern, filled with Water and Odoriferous Oyls, which, after the Sacrament received, is given out among the People with great Clamour and Striving[1].

This Solemnity has been so Splendid, that the Emperors and the Court were wont to honour it with their Presence, when they were entertained with Interludes, and Representations of the Birth, the Morning being ushered in with Vocal and Instrumental Musick, with Millions of Flambeaus, and shewing the Angels and Shepherds, with the Heavenly Host, *Singing praises to God on high, and goodwill towards Men.*

When this was performed, the Rich Merchants strove to express their Sense of these Favours, by inviting them to extraordinary Banqueting and Feasting; and after Expensive Repasts, the River being consecrated for the purpose, the Ceremonies of Baptism were performed, when notwithstanding it is extreamly cold, those of Riper Years were baptized, and swam about for the Diversion of the Court; concluding all with a Night of Jollity.

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[1] "...the ceremony of the blessing of the waters, the other Epiphany function [the Nativity, Epiphany, and Baptism of Our Lord being observed on the same day]. After the conclusion of the Liturgy, a metal vessel full of water is placed in the middle of the choir. A Procession is then formed, two Priests carrying each a taper in one hand and the book of the Gospels in the other; the Deacons carrying a taper and censer; and the Subdeacons tapers only. The Celebrant walks last, bearing the Cross in his hand, which he dips into the water, dividing it, in the shape of a cross, and pours into it at the same time a small quantity of holy oil. Meanwhile two proper Psalms are sung by the choir, and prayers recited by the Celebrant. This water the people carry away, and sprinkle in their houses and into the neighbouring wells and streams. The Procession then proceeds out of doors, and the same ceremony is performed at the neighbouring rivers and fountains" (Fortescue, 189).

The modestest account of which Pranks must be, The Hopes of gaining Proselytes by such Shews, rather than to expose their most Holy Religion to the Contempt of Infidels, out of any Design or Interest; otherwise this Practice admits of a scandalous Interpretation: But alas! it is too true in the affirmative, That in *India* among the Idolatrous it might take, but among those that abhor all manner of Forms and Shapes in their Worship, it turns to the Reproach, and not Advancement of Christianity.

The next thing after being Baptized, is to commit Matrimony[1], the only way they have of propagating their Faith; it being a Punishment no less than Capital, to attempt by any means to persuade a *Mussleman* to abjure his besotted Fancy concerning their False Prophet; but that is not so much the Reason, as prevailing Custom, which has from Age to Age led them to marry their Children very young; chiefly because the Advantage made by their Bargain is not of such Concern as in *Europe*, where Portion, more than Honesty of the Family, is considered; but here the greatest Dowry is the Credit of the Relations, and the Women not the Men make the Price, they being Mistresses of nothing more than their Beauty and Virtue; so that they never are snatch'd up for their Great Fortunes, however Wealthy their Parents are, they being wholly at their Disposals who make the Matches, without the Courtship or Knowledge of the Couple to be married; wherefore they are entred into that sort of Life before they know how to get out of it; for they rarely pass their Childhood before they are tied in that indissoluble Band; whence some Excuse may be made, for the Priests so frequently taking Money to Unmarry them; a thing I have heard more than once wish'd for in other Countries,

[1] For the ritual, see Fortescue, 191.

but in vain; though they promise to be as liberal to the Parson who had that Knack, as any one grieved with the Gout, would be to the Physician who had an infallible way to Cure that Distemper.

The Ceremonies enjoined by the Church are agreeable enough to the *Romish* Institution: Returning home, the Wedded Pair are kept close up together for Forty Days, loaded with Rosaries and Images, and none suffered to come at them, that are Strangers, nor the Womankind to speak to any but their Husband; lest an evil Tongue should have a Sorcerous effect, or a bad Eye should Inchant their future Bliss.

This *Quadragessimal* Restraint[1] being over (if no Fast intervene, of which their Church is full) they prepare themselves to Celebrate the Nuptials with their Kindred, which is on this manner: The Eldest of the Family on the Husband's side, opens the Festival by first Inviting the Guests to the Marriage Feast, where the Bridegroom appears in a mean Dress and poorly Habited[2], till the Priests have received Richer Habiliments of the Grandfathers, or Eldest Uncles Gift, and brought them covered into the middle of the Guest-Chamber, where they Sanctify them and Bless them for his use, the Youth standing by; to verify what *Paladius* used for a Proverb, *Investem Puerum quasi imberbem,* when he called a Beardless Boy by the Epithet of an Undressed Lad; and every one taking their Places, the Servants lay them down on the Carpets, and unwinding the Silk Embroidered for to wrap them in, discover only the Bridegroom's Suit, with an old rusty Sword of the Family's, not worn since *Shaw Abas* reduced them; for in these Countries it is not the Custom that Women of good Fame, or Repute, should meet in

[1] Many similar precautions against the risk of violation of the sexual taboo are described by Crawley, *The Mystic Rose*, 318 ff.

[2] On this form of disguise, see *Ibid.* 335 f.

Publick Conventions with the Men, but they Transact their own Affairs in their own House of Parliament among themselves.

On the Heels of the Servants come the Clerks with their Choir, and taking the Cloaths, only one (which is all Cloth of Gold) being the uppermost Garment, is a loose Coat of *London* Cloth, without Sleeves, Lined with Sables to keep off the Winters Cold; when the Reverend Sages call forth the new Married Stripling, whom they place between Two Bridemen about his own Age, they all Three Kneeling, while they Sing the *Epithalamium,* not so much as lifting up their Heads till all the Rites are finished; then they wait on the Bridegroom into another Room, whither his Robes are carried, and when he is shifted, he returns attended by his Bridemen; when every one of them Salute the Hands of all that are called to this Solemnity, and, after an Ancient Custom, Invite them to take a Cold Banquet among the Tombs, to put them in mind of Mortality at the same time they are contriving to continue the World.

The Young Spark being lift up on Horseback, and some time carefully held by one on each side on Foot, leads the way to the Cavalcade, Riding in State, after a Noise of Fidlers, Drummers, Pipers, and other Lacquies, Pages, and Footmen; after whom an innumerable Concourse of Horsemen follow to the Graves, near a Mile out of the City (among whom are some very noble Sepulchres fit to receive so great a Company) but in fair Weather they spread their Carpets, and set up their Tents near the side of a Brook, almost washing their Burial place.

Here *Ceres* and *Bacchus* having shewn their good will to *Venus*, (for it is known without them no hearty Sacrifice is paid her) *Hymen* delivers out his Torches, the Sun having withdrawn his; and every one there takes a Wax Light in his Hand, and Mounting, direct themselves towards

the City, in the same manner they came out, only Bonfires, Flambeaus, and Fireworks Illuminate the Road all along: Entring *Jelfa*, the stately Gates of their Friends and Relations, especially such as are present at the Collation, are bestuck with Tapers in divers Coloured Paper Lanthorns; which look gracefully and divert the Company with variety of Artful Fires, each striving to outvie others; and are Entertained at the same time with Wine and Sweetmeats, Drinking of Healths, and at last dismiss'd with fresh Tapers given to all the Guests.

This continues in the Way to the Cathedral, where about Midnight the Bridegroom arriving, begs the Blessing of the Archbishop, and they hardly return to the House from whence they set out, till almost Break of Day.

Where they are scarcely composed to Sleep, before the Father of the Bride knocks on the same Errand, calling the Guests to accept of a Treat at his House; where those Invited are carried into a noble open Banquetting-House in a Garden, with Tanks and Adornments very Magnificent, after their Fashion; the Room is Perfumed with costly Odours, Smoaking out of Antick, Weighty, Silver Perfuming Pots, or Pans; and being Seated, Voiders[1] of Sweatmeats (with a *Russian* Coat, as they call it) a Dram of Brandy is set before every one; and then the Servants bring the best Raiments yet presented the Bridegroom, being the Father-in-laws, or his Representatives; the Ceremonies are the same of the Clergy, only with this addition, the Bridemen which Kneeled yesterday, to day stand upright with flaming Flambeaus in their Hands.

These Ceremonies ended, and the Sweatmeats taken off, a Table is spread, and more than twice Seven Plates are differently Modified to invite the Palate to Luxury; to

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[1] "A basket or tray for carrying out the relics of a dinner or other meal" (Nares, *Gloss. s.v.*).

which that of *Muturantius*, for which *Juvenal* Lampoons him, is a modest piece of Temperance:

———Quis fercula septem
Secreto cenavit Avus———[1]

But here are such loads of Provisions, that none need fear a quicker Eye than Appetite, at leisure to take notice what each Eats; for should they do nothing but devour, their Stomachs must be cloied before their Portions sink.

Yet all these Preparations, with the enticing Poinant Sawces, and provoking Pickles, prevail not on the Bridegroom to fall to, till the Father-in-Law lays to his new Son's double Mess, a Purse of Gold; and this is the only thing they bear away by way of Dowry: After this Debt is cancelled, no Cloud appears to disturb the Mirth, Eating, Drinking, and facetious Discourse is all the Business; and in earnest it is one, and a tedious one where it lavishes into such Excess.

For what was reported of Old, still holds good, The *Persians* Drink Wine in Bowls; and they observe *Gellius* his Rule, *de Lege Cœnarum*, as a Law to their Feasts, *Dum libentissime edas, tunc aufertur, & alia esca melior atque amplior succenturiatur, isque flos cœnæ habetur*; as if they never thought you Welcome before you had Eat like a Glutton, and Drank like a Swine: After shifting of Plates unaccountably, and every one's Health has reason done it, they take off the Table-Cloth, but not remove their Seats; Fruit, Wine, Tobacco, and Salt Bits for a Whet, being placed before them, they continue Drinking till Midnight, being diverted by Stage-Players, Dancers, and Mountebanks all Day; nor will they themselves disdain to take up a Tabor and Roar out a Song behind that, and a Flute Playing to them.

At Night Fireworks begin again, having had the

[1] *Sat.*, i, 94.

constant ones of the Water all the time, arising in Crowns and Garlands, with other Figures; at last they bring the News that the Matrons had dismissed the Bride Adorned with all her Wealth and Gallantry; when they rise, but proceed not till she is delivered to her Groom, who waits on her to her Horse; when they are both Mounted, the Ecclesiasticks marshal the Procession; all the Streets are Illuminated, the loud Drums and Trumpets proclaim their approach; in the Front is carried a Tree full of Fruit; after it follows the *Europeans*, then the *Armenians* in order; in the midst of them the Canonical Gentlemen and Boys, singing and Playing on Musical Instruments, all in their peculiar Habits, which were Rich, and the Choiristers Surplices full of Red Crosses; after these the Bride and Bridegroom, He nobly Mounted and splendidly Accoutred with Magnificent Trappings; his Horse led, and the Bride held on by Matrons, Cross-legg'd, after the Country Fashion for Women to Ride, but Vailed all over with a Saffron-coloured Vail;

Lutea demissos velârunt flammea vultus[1].

Lest if the Blushes of the Virgin Bride should be discovered, or if too high a Colour should be discerned in the Maiden Face, it may be imputed to the Vail, not the Floridness of the Cheeks; after all, in the close of the Procession, come the Matrons Attired in White Sheets.

Nor do they go far before they repeat their Banquets, with Presents of Tapers, Sweetmeats, Squibs, Serpents and Rockets, as they pass; the Glory of this Night is always designed to pay their Respects to their Governor in Chief,

[1] Lucan, *Pharsalia*, ii, 361. "As they set out from the Virgin's habitation, the Bridegroom goes before with a Veil of Carnation-Tiffany upon his Head, or else of Gold and Silver Net-Work, the Meshes whereof are very close, that reaches below the Stomach. He holds in his Hand one end of a Girdle some three or four Ells long, and the Bride that rides behind holds the other. She is also cover'd with a large white Veil from head to foot, that spreads also a good way over the horse" (Tavernier, 173).

who receives them very great, and grants a License for the Youth to carry his Spouse home, which he does, departing from hence to his Father's House, where the Company end their *Thalasses*[1], and leave them to Contemplate the Joys of Matrimony.

The next day, if it be a Fast, is intermitted; but the Feast holds on till the Relations have finished their Course, which is sometimes more than a Month; so profuse are they of their Time and Money on this occasion.

After Marriage, of right succeeds Child-bearing, which keeps the same state in Lying in as with us, only they are something longer before their Purification, agreeing therein with the *Jewish* Account of Forty days; when they enter their Baths to Cleanse, and bring the New-born Babes with them to the Church, that the Priest may at once give his Benediction to the Infant, and the Mother return Thanks to God, who assists at their Births and their own Delivery.

From these Festivals thus Celebrated at large, it is meet we should see how those enjoined by the Church are tempered with days of Abstinence, as well to fit them for the studies of Piety and Moderation, as on their Feast-days by a Christian Chearfulness, to declare to the World the excellency of their Original, and that they were Ordained as a Refreshment after sincere Humiliation and Penance.

Two Days in every Week they hold a strict Fast, not only from all manner of Wine, Oil, and Butter, but from Flesh and all Nourishment whatever indued with a sensitive Being[2]; living like the *Pythagoreans*, on Herbs and Roots,

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[1] Talasius, Talasio, Talassus, Thalassius or Thalassis were various names for the Roman deity of the marriage day, who was invoked with the cry of Talasse (Martial, xii, 42: Catullus, lxi, 134). Mr Conybeare writes: "The description of the Armenian marriage is delightful. I have myself seen wedding guests quitting their revels at dawn, with the fumes of the feast still overpowering their brains."

[2] "Five Sabbaths in every yeare they abstain from flesh, fish, cheese,

especially the Ecclesiasticks, who Macerate themselves severely; these Days are *Wednesdays* and *Fridays*, unless *Christmas* Day, or the Baptism of our Saviour, happen on either of them: Before which they prepare themselves by a Weeks continued Fast. The Laics indeed indulge themselves with Wine, but the Clergy by no means: Their much admired St. *Chrysostom* has exempted Women with Child, the Infirm and Children, from the Rigour of these Observances, leaving them this as a Maxim, *That Health is not to be impaired, but the Mind strengthned by a due subjection.*

On the Dawn of the Gospel, which had been Gloriously displayed by the Angels Appearance to the Shepherds tending their Flocks, we have already related the Solemnity; yet because here remains a dispute among the *Armenians*, which Day to affix the following Tradition to, I shall only mention it here, and leave it to their own decision; for it is a question among them, If it be not most probable, that after the bright Phosphor of the Heavenly Host, the Shepherds Eyes might not be dazled, and for that reason wanting more than the Light of the Stars, were constrained to kindle dry Twigs, or Boughs of Trees to light them in quest of the declared Messias? However this satisfies not the Generality, but that it has many Opposers, and they say, it was on the Morning to the Purification of the

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and butter: in memory of those five Ages, wherein their barbarous forefathers used to immolate their children unto the old red Dragon: all wednesdays and fridays also in the year except from Easter to Ascention they fast precisely: and no other Christians are such strict Lent-observers: for they refrayne their wives that time; and from flesh, fish, milk, egges, butter; those forty days feeding only upon oyle, bread, honey, water, dates, cowcumbers, melons, herbs, and the like. At other times they eat hogs flesh. Before the three great Festivalls, they fast twelve dayes" (Herbert, 152). All Wednesdays and Fridays throughout the year, except those in the week after the Nativity, those during Easter-tide, and those in the week after the Assumption, are Days of Abstinence, when flesh-meat, milk, butter, eggs, and oil must be abstained from (Fortescue, 52).

Blessed Virgin, when Old *Simeon* had his Age Renewed and became Young enough to Embrace the Child Jesus, and being Divinely Inspired, Prophesied of the Salvation of all Nations, and brought the Holy Babe in at the Folding Doors of the Temple; which, by a received Belief among the *Jews*, were never to be opened till those Days of Peace should come wherein Christ should appear; the Novelty of which Accident being spread about the City of *Jerusalem*, all sorts of People came flocking before day with such combustible Torches, to be Witnesses of the truth: On which day therefore it being more universally received, the *Armenian* Divines and Interpreters of these Mysteries appoint Fires to be kindled in their Churches, and Annually rejoice for that they have found their Lord and Master.

On the 13th of *January*, for a less Apocryphal Story, they proclaim a Fast, and humble themselves in Dust and Ashes on their Heads, and Sackcloth on their Bodies, for the Denunciation *Jonas* made of God's Judgment against *Niniveh*; and on the 20th rejoice for the Aversion thereof on their unfeigned Repentance[1].

The Preparation for, and Continuation of their *Lent* till the *Passion* Night, they religiously keep with almost a *Suguntin*[2] Fast, that is, almost famish themselves to Death; when they repair to the Tombs of their Friends and Relations, with burning Incense and lighted Candles; where they pray for the Dead, or more charitably

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[1] Fasting is prescribed on every day of the Fast of Nineveh, which is kept for two weeks, one month before the commencement of Lent, and represents the commencement of the long Lent of early Christian days (Fortescue, 51).

[2] The town of Saguntum in Hispania Tarraconensis. "Ab Annibale obsessi, et novem mensium fessi fame (qua humanis corporibus vesci coacti sunt) machinis, ferro, tandem ne se dederent, versa in rabiem fide, immani rogo in foro excitato, se suosque cum omnibus opibus ferro et igni corruperunt." *Facciolati, Lexicon*, ed. Bailey, *s.v. Saguntos.* See Livy, xxi, 14, 15: Silius Italicus, i, 271 f.

recommend them to a quiet Repose by the Mouth of their Priests, and at the same time refresh themselves with Fruit and Melons, the Women with their Husbands and Infants drinking to their pious Memory, freely taking off their Cups, and weeping plentifully with a sad Lamentation and mighty Outcry; till the Wine make them have a Light Heart and a Merry Countenance; which course they take till the Ascension, Weeping and Wailing, Drinking and Quaffing.

Easter and *Whitsuntide* they keep as the Primitive Christians did.

From the 28th of *May* they castigate themselves with cutting Disciplines; for that *Constantine* the Great when Emperor, marching out to fight, breathed nothing but Slaughter against the Christians, till convinced by an Apparition of the Sign of the Cross in the Heavens, with this Advertisement, *In hoc Signo tantum vinces*, whereupon he became the first Christian Emperor, defending that Religion against all its Adversaries: For which miraculous Conversion, they find now, as the Christians then did, Matter for Thanksgiving.

For their Patriarch and Martyr St. *Gregory*, on the 9th of *June* they afflict themselves for his being soaked, Six Days, and on the Seventh they magnify his more than Human Patience.

Before the Transfiguration of our Saviour on the 19th of *June*, they Fast, and end that Day with a Feast.

From the 18th of *August*, for the Death of the Blessed Virgin, they have instituted six days of Mourning, and the next after is a Thanksgiving for her being translated from this Life to a better.

On the 17th of *September* they reiterate their Devotions for the Dead, which is preceded by six days of strict Penance.

On the same day they commemorate St. *Helen*'s

Invention of the Cross at *Jerusalem*, being Empress to the forementioned *Constantine*.

St. *Guywark* has a Fast of the same length, and a Feast at the end of it, on the 26th of the same Month[1].

The 17th of *November* they put themselves on distress for the Health and Safety of their Cattle, to free them from Rot, and pray for their Increase; this at first lasted but seven days, but it is now so many Weeks, all which time they keep *Lent*.

Last of all for St. *James* they are grievously concerned six days together, and are content with one day only to Feast on: So that the Year round there are more Fasting than Feasting-days.

Through all these Scenes, Time keeps jogging on, and *it is appointed for all men once to dye*[2]; at which Article the Neighbours and Acquaintance, especially those of the Blood, come to bewail and weep for the loss of their Friend or Relation; when, and not till then, the Parish-Priest is sent for, that he should pray by him, and put him into an happy Posture of Departure, by minding him of his Soul's Health, notwithstanding his Bodily Indisposition; which being recommended into the same Hands that bestowed it, and having taken its Flight from Earth to its assigned Place, there are no Words made of Anatomizing or Embalming the Body; but washing it often with Aromatick Waters while it is purified and kept clean, and then apparelling it as when alive, in its best Cloaths, it is wrapped about with a Sheet, and bound with Swathings to the Bier, his Arms being first placed across, over which is thrown a Pall of divers Colours. The Parish-Priest with

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[1] Mr Conybeare remarks: "For 'St Guywark' read 'Gaianeang,' *i.e.* 'companions of St Gaiana,' whose feast is September 26."

[2] The prayers used at funerals are nearly the same as those of the Greeks, from whom they have been borrowed by the Armenians. See the account in Fortescue, 190 ff.

his Collegues and others bearing Ensigns of Saints, and the Chanters singing, manage the Solemnity, and lead the Way to the Church, no matter whether before or after Noon; immediately after these the Bearers bring the Corps, when many of the Funeral Train with Heads hung down, and smiting of their Breasts, make a dismal Cry: Being entred the Church-Porch, the Prior of the Convent with his Associates receive the Procession, a *Vortobeed* being present, who leads the Choir up to the High Altar, the Body being left on the Bier among the Women, while they say High Mass, and perform the Office for the Dead. In the mean time the Relict or next of Kin to the Defunct, uncovering his Face and throwing by the Burial-Cloaths, with neglected Dress and disshevel'd Hair falls on the Face of the Dead, deploring the Loss of her Father, Husband, or Relation, by often kissing his cold Lips, and piteously lamenting; which is seconded in so mournful a Consort by all the other Women, that one would think the Shades themselves could not entertain their new-come Guests with a more doleful Dirge: Thus she continues, and hardly suffers her self to be pulled away, till Mass is said, and the *Vortobeeds* are turning towards the Coarse, when all the Women are driven out of the Church, and Candles lighted are given to every Man there: The *Vortobeed* standing at the Head, the other Clergy possess the Sides, and the Prior with his Fellows enclose the Feet.

At the Reading the Epistle and Gospel, they change their Cope, Mantle, and Hood, and Whine them forth; as also does the Prior when he chants the Liturgy, to whose Key the other Priests tune the Responses: In the Interim they Fumigate the Body with holy Incense, and sprinkle it with holy Water; which Ceremonies being ended, the Bearers are ready to carry the Body to the Burial-place, far from the Town; before which only one *Vortobeed* with the Parish Priests in course, and their Clerks with Tapers

lighted compleat the Exequies, and commit it to the Ground: As if they had respect to the Law of the Twelve Tables, *Mortuum infrà Urbem ne sepelito, neve urito:* Though more truly to the Emperor's Commands, who has granted them Ground for that purpose, with a strict Injunction to bury no where else.

Those whose Cowardice has made their Lives uneasy either by Temper or Misfortune, and thereby precipitated their Deaths by laying Violent Hands on themselves, are reproached with this odd distinction in their Funeral from other Mortals; in what part of the House soever they are found to commit this Self-Murder, there the Wall is broken down to make a Passage to their Graves[1]; signifying thereby, That if they would not expect the common Period of Life with other Men, they ought to be carried forth by an unaccustomed Way, and not through the Doors of the House, throwing them unconcernedly and unpitied into any Pit, like the Burial of a Dog, without any Solemnity.

Thus having dispatched the Formalities attending every Stage of Life, something ought to be mentioned of the Excellencies of their Minds and Faculties, and how far qualified in common with the rest of Mankind. In order hereunto first may be considered their Propensity to Languages, they making *Syriac*, *Arabic*, *Turkish*, and *Persian*, their own at Home; and by *Lingua-Franca* become conversant with most of the *Western* Foreigners; which Language is a Mixture of *Portuguese*, *Italian*, *French*, and *Spanish*, and thereby made intelligible to *European* Traders as universally as *Latin* to the Gentry and Scholars: So that it has often been Matter of Wonder to hear a Merchant disown any Skill in the above-recited Speeches, yet converse severally with those of each Nation.

[1] To baffle the ghost, Sir E. Tylor, *Primitive Culture*[2], ii, 26: J. G. Frazer, *Journal Anthropological Institute*, xv, 72.

They as much hate the *Greek* Language as their Church, although they derive their *Armenian* Elegancies from its Themes. But what cannot Religion persuade? Because they have dissented in Opinions, therefore do they abhor the very Words of the *Greek*.

In Philosophy they utter some Specious and Trifling Things, but nothing Pithy or Nervous.

Some things they boast of Antiquity: For *Armenia*, famous heretofore for many notable Transactions, owns *Japhet* as its first Founder and Planter; or, as others will have it, to grow from *Aram* the Son of *Sem:* However, it is certain that after the General Deluge it was inhabited by the Sons of *Noah*, and it afforded Landing-place for all Living Creatures after their Transport from the Ark, according to the Literal Sense of the Divine Testimony; *And the ark rested on the twenty seventh day of the seventh month, on the mountains of Armenia*; that is to say, on the Mount *Ararat*; which we know admits of a large Interpretation.

It contains in it *Iberia*, *Albania*, and *Colchis*; which latter, as it abounded in the days of King *Ægeas* with Massy Treasures, which occasioned that perilous Voyage of the *Argonauts* under *Jason*, for the Golden Fleece; so now it remains fruitful in all manner of Nature's Riches, flowing with Milk and Honey, and stored with Pastures, Corn, Woods, and Cattel; but I hear of no other Discoveries either of Gold or Silver made there since.

Their Country formerly enjoyed mighty Kings and Potentates, and some the most Pious in Story; among whom *Abagares*[1] is related to have wrote an Answer to an

[1] The letters of Abgar Uchumo, King of Edessa, said to have been written to Christ, and His answer come from Eusebius (*Hist. Eccl.* i, 13). They were first published in the original Syrian by Dr Cureton, or rather by Mr Wright after his death (*Anc. Syr. Doc. relating to Edessa*, 1864). They are believed to date from about 200 A.D. See Smith, *Dict. Christ. Biog.* iv, 878 ff.

Epistle of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; which thing whether a Figment or no, is not in my Power to determine: Yet thus much I am sure of, that neither Riches, Honour, or High Birth, make any either happier or better, unless this World's Goods be seasoned with a Mind endued with Virtue, and Moderation suitable to such extraordinary Benefits.

The next Neighbours, if not the same with the *Armenians*, were the *Iberians*, now called *Georgians*, who underwent the same Calamities with them; but with a contrary Disposition of Humour, being a Martial People bred up to the Wars, and now serve the Emperor as his best Infantry; of these, Forty thousand are at present in Arms under Military Pay, in and about *Spahaun*. Their Country at this time bears the Name of *Gurgestan*[1], from whence they are Christen'd *Georgians*; not from the famous St. *George*, but because they follow Husbandry, γεωργοί. They were converted to the Christian Faith near the same time with the *Armenians*; which they still retain, and maintain their State and Country; but both Christianity and their Country are past their Vertical Point, and are upon their Declension.

Their Princes, to uphold their Prerogative, are inclined to submit to the *Persian* Yoke with the Ignominy of Apostatizing, rather than by a stout defiance resist the Temptations and Allurements of Government under the *Mahometan* Bestiality: Such Power has the Ambitious Thirst of Rule.

They are Proper, Fresh-colour'd, Well-limb'd People: Their Women so Fair and Beautiful, that the Queen-Mother is always of the Family of the *Georgian* Princes; and for that reason is it their Children are so often sold to

[1] The terms Georgian and Gruzya are simply corruptions of the Pers. Gurj, as in Gurjistan, Gurj-land (*Ency. Brit.*[9], x, 433: ed.[11], xi, 758).

Infidels, because they make good Markets of them. *Mars* has the Ascendent over this Nation, as *Mercury* has over the *Armenians*.

There is therefore an inveterate Contrariety of Tempers between them; and since the *Armenians* deserted the *Greek* Church, this Breach is widen'd; being impatient at the performance of each others Services in the Churches, the *Georgians* frequently interrupting them in their Devotions, and doing despite to their Altars on their most Publick Solemnities: Such Absurdities does Religion introduce, which should be the only means to cement and unite Mankind in the Bond of Humanity.

The Blame whereof must chiefly lye at the doors of their Prelates, whose Obstinacy and Perverseness, abdicating all Force of Reason, are guided by no other Impulse than the present Enjoyments of this Life, and keep on foot particular Piques and Animosities, purposely to distract and vex the Church, thereby to carry on their own Interest or Ambition: Otherwise, how should it come to pass that those baptized under the same Symbol, and in many (and the most difficult) Points of Religion are agreeing, should not be all of one Mind in every respect, unless the Idle Dreams and Malicious Practices of the Inorthodox should inculcate Debates and sow Divisions, only to be Head of a Party?

On which occasion, whether the Pope hath been aiding or studious to compose these Differences, I know not: But sure I am, as it is the Duty of a good King, that would avoid the Imputation of a Tyrant, so to govern, that the Laws as well as Arms should be a Safeguard to his People that have intrusted themselves to his Protection, not only to defend them in time of War, but conserve them by those wholsome Sanctions in time of Peace; so is it the Office of the Chief Pastor to instruct the People committed to his Charge, with the saving knowledge

of sound Doctrine, and then by an Exemplary and Christian Conversation, to pray for the Expiation of their Sins by the Death and Merits of our Saviour Christ, the only acceptable Sacrifice on that score, incontinently imploring an happy and perpetual Union of the Mystical Body of the Church Militant here on Earth, and persisting in an holy Presidency all the days of his Life: By which method they will clear to the World what is their end, as the Apostle did, 2 *Cor.* 12. 6. when he told the *Corinthians* he sought not their Earthly Substance, but their Eternal Welfare. And were this the design of either the Pope or their Patriarchs, we could not find fault with the Emissaries of the one, or the Conduct of the others compassing Sea and Land to make Proselytes, but for having gained them they become sevenfold worse Children of the Devil than before.

Nor, to speak truth, are the Popelings slothful in these Parts: At *Jelfa* is a College of the Jesuits; and both in *Georgia* and *Armenia* they have had many Monasteries beyond the *Euxine* Sea, as far as the *Chersonese*, looking towards *Scythia*, at the City *Theodosia*, now called *Caffa*[1]; but these Places being over-run with the *Turks* and *Persians*, they were expelled thence by the Cruelty of the Heathens on one hand, and Persuasion of the Hereticks of the several forementioned Sects on the other, that they were at last crowded into the Province only of *Nockshuan*[2] in the greater *Armenia*, three days Journy from *Erewan*; where are only left in Ten poor Villages as many starveling Convents of the Order of the *Dominicans*, settled by Bishop *Bartholomew*, sent out by Pope *John* the 22d, to reconcile the *Armenians* to that See.

But he could obtain no more than the reducing his own

[1] Theodosia or Kaffa on the E. coast of the Crimea.
[2] Nakhichevan, 100 miles S.E. of Erivan.

Order to that Obedience; which lest they should be wholly extirpated, the succeeding Popes provide for them Eleemosynaries by way of *Goa:* Besides these, some say the Pope defrays the Charges of those at *Spahaun*, of whom we have spoken before; from whence it is needless, if they be content with what may serve to be instrumental to honest Studies, for the King is their Almoner. And as he is bountiful to these for their seeming Integrity and pious Behaviour, so he is munificent to the Handicrafts-men which come from *Europe*; to these he has given large Salaries, and graceful Houses in *Jelfa*, besides their peculiar Offices at Court, where they attend when in waiting.

All these when they encounter one another, pay the Civility of uncovering the Head, but salute the *Moors* after their own manner.

Besides these Christians in *Jelfa*, St. *Rhipsima*[1] has her Devotes, who live in a Nunnery, and vow Virginity all their Life; they are about Forty, and profess Poverty for Christ's sake, having nothing but what they get by begging; they go in Black Hoods over a Blue Vest.

Here are two other Orders that are more recluse, resembling *Sancta Monacha*, and *Sancta Clara*[2]. And thus I have run through all the Degrees that live in *Jelfa*, with what Brevity and Faithfulness may be expected in so transient an Account.

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[1] St Ripsimia, a virgin martyr in Armenia, under Tiridates (Smith, *Dict. Christ. Ant. s.v.*).

[2] See vol. ii, 15.

CHAP. VII.

Gives us a Sight of the Palace, and Rarities there; our Entertainment by the French *Artisans in the Emperor's Service; the Diversions of the Place, and its Product; and the Close of the Year, with its Seasons.*

HAving been taken up thus long among the *Armenians*, we in our Return cannot but take notice of the famous Walk between the two Cities of *Jelfa* and *Ispahaun:* It is planted with two Rows of Sycamores (which is the tall Maple, not the Sycamore of *Alkair*) upwards of two Miles: It is called the *Chaurbaug*[1], from Four Gardens belonging to the Palace, opposite one to another; these take up all the Ground on the side of the Bridge towards *Spahaun*; on the other side, Seats of Noblemen and Great Ministers of State grace the Way up to the biggest of all, the Emperor's, which is at the End of this Stately Place, over-looking with a pleasant Prospect all the rest up to the Palace-Gates, which are directly answering the Majestick ones of this Garden, they fronting one the other.

Over the Portal are curiously painted Men and Women in *European* Dresses: From the Entrance up to the Mountains, Marble Steps make the Ascent easy, which Nature had framed difficult enough otherwise; up which the Limpid Streams are forced to send their Currents

[1] Chahār Bāgh, the Cherbaugh of Herbert (159). "On crossing the bridge [leading from the city to Julfa] one enters the avenue of plane-trees, known as Chahar Bagh. The trees have been magnificent, but are hollow and broken now, chipped away inside for fuel till the merest shell of each stately Chinar is left standing. Ten years hence none will remain" (Stack, ii, 25). The name, Four Gardens, is not derived from the gardens that open out of it, but recalls the fact that the site was originally occupied by four vineyards, which Shāh 'Abbās rented and converted into a stately approach to his capital (Curzon, ii, 38). The name is found as far as India. Bābar built a Chārbāgh villa at Agra, known also as Hasht Behisht, "Eight Paradises," or Nūrafshān, "Light-diffusing," now known under the Hindu name Rāmbāgh.

through Five several Channels laid with Marble, two at the feet of the Sycamores, which railed in two Foot-pads, and ran immediately to the River; the other three emptied themselves into the Tanks, to which two Stone Causeways gave an Even Walk to Foot-men, by the middle Channel parting them, and at every Tank ascended or descended by Marble Grades, while the Horse-way was sloped for their Passage, entring on one side, and coming back the other; and every Two hundred Paces, Bathing-places of a large Circumference receive great plenty of Water from the three Channels in the middle, into which the Marble Steps go down to the Bottom, which is paved with a cleanly Floor of the same Polished Stones; and this is begun from the beginning of the *Chaurbaug*, whence it descends to the River, and thence rises the same height to the End of the Garden: In the Garden its self, variety of Green Trees flourishing, sweet Odors smelling, clear Fountains and Rivers flowing, charm all the Senses; nor is there less surprizal at the ravishing Sight of the delicate Summer-houses by each Pond's side, built with all the Advantages for Recreation and Delight.

In a Wilderness beneath this, are kept the Bears, Leopards, and Lions, belonging to the Emperor: And from this place up to the Palace Gate, are seen every Evening all the Gentry of the City Riding to and fro with Hawks on their Fists; managing their Steeds, making of Matches for Shooting, Hunting, Coursing, or Hawking; shewing their Gallantry in Apparel and Retinue, as well as disposition to Sport; being as much frequented as our *Hide Park*, and for as little purpose, only to see and be seen, though the whole pretence be to take the Air.

Near these Ponds, or *Tanks*, are Coffee-Houses, which furnish them when they dismount, with Coho, Tea, or Sherbets; while they sit in State, and smoak Tobacco with their Attendance about them.

The adjacent Houses, Orchards, and Gardens, may be truly said to be in the Virge of the Court, many of them serving only for the Emperor to shift with his Seraglio, while the other Apartments are Aired; though the great *Divan*, or Council be always held in that place respecting the *Midan*, or *Pomœrium*, in the heart of the City; and the rest are but given during Pleasure, to the chief Officers at Court: Wherefore reckoning all these Dwellings as Appendices (which indeed they are) few Monarchs will appear to have a larger extent to hold their Court in, it being above a Third part of the whole City; which being granted, it will not be hard to imagine so Great and Absolute a Potentate should be Courted by all the World, and from all the parts of the Earth the wonderful Works of the Creation should be brought as Honorary Presents; nor can it be supposed that so wide and spacious a Palace should not afford room for more than the ancient Ark, though not freight with Pairs of all the Species, yet more of several.

Whence it is, that here is to be seen more readily, and with less hazard, the Offspring of most Soils, except Human, and the Creatures of every Nation, rather than the Women of this Court, which are at less liberty than the Beasts, being Cooped up in their Sties, more strictly than these are kept in their Dens; many of the fiercest and untamedst of these being allowed only to breath in the open Air as Nature Ordained them: But not to tire my self, nor you with Particulars, I shall only mention what were strange to me.

The first whereof was the Rhinoceros, who is a Cruel Beast, of a large Size, there coming from his Nose an Horn a Cubit long, (Brown towards the Bottom, Whiter near the Point) and Six Inches Diameter, whence the derivation of his Name from Ῥὶν, *Nasus*, a Nose, and Κέρας, *Cornu*, an Horn; between this Animal and the Elephant, is a

mortal strife, for which Nature seems to have armed it on purpose; it being a Four-footed Beast, with Three Partings of the Hoof, built on thick strong Thighs, but short, considering the great bulk of its Body which presses them; it is Tall enough to reach the Bowels of its Antagonist with its Horn, with which it Gores him to Death; nor has she given him less firm Bones to the Trunk, if by chance it should be crushed by the Elephant, defending its very Hide with a Coat of Mail; wherefore before on the Neck and Shoulders, and behind in the Quarters, the Skin lies in Folds, like Fish Scales, over one another; the Face bears much of an Hogs Countenance, unless the upper Lip, which resemble a Cows, and the lower, the form of a Whales; the Mouth discovers a mishaped Tongue, set about with Two rowes of Teeth; it is of the same Mouse Colour, and Tailed as an Elephant is, and Feeds of the same Fodder, and is kept facing Two mighty, but lean Elephants.

Whether the Rhinoceros be the Unicorn, I suspend my belief, since I have seen an Horn turned with Furrows and Ridges from the Basis to the Point, and Tapering like that of our King's Arms: But what *Petrus Angelius* relates concerning the *Onager*, or *Indian* Ass, can have no congruity with this, unless in respect of the Virtues; for though his Verses are most Elegant in his 5. *lib. Cyneget*, yet the description is very wide:

——— *Quos India pascit Onagros,*
Jam primum niveo corpus candore teguntur,
Infecti Assyrio circum caput omne colore
Cæruleis oculis, unoque in fronte superbi
Cornu, &c.[1]

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[1] Petrus Angelius, *Cynegetica*, Bk. II, 284–8. These lines come immediately before the quotation in vol. i, p. 290. There are three varieties of Rhinoceros in India—*Rhinoceros unicornis*, the great one-horned Rhinoceros, now almost restricted to the plain of Assam; *Rhinoceros sondaicus*, the small one-horned Rhinoceros of the Sundarbans

His words in Prose are these; 'The Wild Asses of *India* 'are as big, or bigger than Horses, whose Heads are of a 'Purple die, their Eyes Blew, the rest of their Body White; 'on their Foreheads they have an Horn a Cubit in length, 'whose lower part for Two Hands breadth is White, and 'the Top, which is sharp, inclining to a bright Red, but the 'Middle part is blood Red; of these they make Cups, out 'of which whosoever Drinks, neither Cramp nor Falling 'Sickness seizes them; nor has any manner of Poison any 'force, if that immediately before or after taking of the 'same, either Water, Wine, or other Liquid thing be taken 'out of these Cups.

That this Opinion is taken up upon the account of the Rhinoceros his Horn[1], I can certainly verify, and that great Prices are offered for those that are inadulterate; which they in *India* pretend to try by the Liquors presently fermenting in them; but notwithstanding that Experiment they are often deceived by false Horns made into drinking Cups; thus much is true of the Rhinoceros, but the other

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and parts of Eastern Bengal; *Rhinoceros sumatrensis*, the Asiatic two-horned Rhinoceros, ranging from Assam to Siam, Malay Peninsula, Sumatra, and Borneo. They are fully described by Blanford, *Mammalia*, 471 ff.

[1] The virtues of the Rhinoceros horns were known to the ancients (Ktesias, *Indika*, 25: Aelian, *Hist. Anim*, iv, 52, iii, 41). The Yogis, says Barbosa (101), carry with them sometimes rhinoceros horn and Pajar (bezoar) stone, which possess great virtue against all poisons. "Their hornes in India are much esteemed and used against all venime, poyson, and many other diseases" (Linschoten, ii, 9, with Tiele's note). It was identified with the unicorn, whose horn possessed similar virtues (P. della Valle, i, 5). See also Sir T. Roe, ii, 290. "They ascribe very much likewise to the Rhinoceros Horn in *India*, as it is an Antidote against all poysonous Draughts, and hugely extol in it that medicinal Excellence and singular Quality. The Character of this Horn prevail'd so far with a President of ours at *Suratt*, that he exchang'd for a Cup made of this Horn a large capacious Silver Bowl of the same bigness" (Ovington, 267). Stevens (*H. of Persia*, 128) specially commends "the Horn of those they take in *Bengale*, *Orracam*, and *Siam*, for those of *Africk*, tho' larger, are not counted so good." James Forbes (*Or. Mem.*[2], i, 438) found it in repute in S. Africa as well as Hindostan. It is still valued as an antidote to poison in Egypt (Lane, *Mod. Egypt.*[5], i, 327).

part of it holds not Water; they come from *Bengala*, and are esteemed terrible and indomitable Creatures: And these must be (or none) what this Author calls Asses, there being no other Beasts in these Parts with but one Horn; and I am afraid he is mistaken as to the *African* Ass also, some Writers having called *Africa India*, which might have been urged in his excuse, whose Skin I having formerly admired when in *India*, you will easily be convinced it is no such Creature, it having never an Horn; Two Live ones were sent hither from the *Abassin* Emperor, as an Expression of Respect to this Court; which, with other valuable Rarities brought by his Ambassadors, were lately graciously received.

They are as large as a Mule, but for the exact Symetry of the Lineaments, *Zeuxis* his Pencil would but faintly shadow over the lively Portraicture of their Skins, the ground whereof was of a light Ash Colour, over which along the Back strait black Streaks in Rows at length reached to the Tail; the Shoulders, Flanks, and Haunches had the same waving towards the extremity of their several Members; but that which was the oddest was on the Forehead, they had so many Geometrial Figures, like the *Trapezium*, or Square, in which the opposite sides are parallel one with another, so distinctly painted, as at last to fill up a black spot of a Diamond cut in the very Centre of the Face[1].

What Family to mix this Kind with, I am at a loss, unless they be a-kin to the *Onager*, or Wild Ass, mentioned by *Xenophon* in the Expedition of the Lesser *Cyrus*; the same we read in *Pliny* in his 8. *Lib.* and 4th *Chap.* where he ascribes them to *Phrygia* and *Lycaonia*; but the Words

[1] This was the hide of a Zebra, still regarded as a great curiosity in India. The Abyssinian embassy to Aurangzíb brought "a small species of mule....No tiger is so beautifully marked, and no *alacha* of the *Indies*, or striped silken stuff, is more finely and variously streaked" (Bernier, 135).

of the before recited Author have it thus; 'The *Onager* is 'a Wild Ass, excelling at pleasure the swiftest Courser; 'whose Flesh differs not much from Stags Flesh, were it 'not something tenderer; *Arabia*, says he, abounds with 'Flocks of them. Now nothing can be Tamer than these before us, and therefore unlikely to be the Wild ones of *Xenophon* in *Arabia*, but are most assuredly the Breed of *Africa*; however *Petrus Angelius Bargæus* comes pretty near the Mark in this, though not the other; however he is mistaken in the Place, as well as the Race of both:

At sonitu ingenti putrem quatit ungula campum
Cornua, venantem quoties fugîêre; suisque
Temporibus stant longæ Aures, tum Corpora Cervos
Exsuperant; nec Lana nitet non albo colore,
Mixta Nigro, ceu cum Nubes densantur opacæ
Et totum eripiunt oculis cœlumque diemque.
Nigraque per medios decurrit tænia lumbos
Linda, quam clunes tractim comitantur adimos,
Utraque distinguens niveo sua tergora ductu[1].

The Horny Hoof with mighty sound,
As oft as Hunted shakes the ground;
Upon their Temples stand long Ears,
Bodies bigger than Stags are theirs;
A Woolly Hair, of colour White,
Outshines the mixture of black Night.
Along the Back, and down the Loins,
A List of Black the White disjoins;
The same accompanies the Haunch,
Distinguishing the Flanks from Paunch.

Hence we were carried to the Ducking Ponds, where Swam Outlandish, as well as Native Wild Fowl; and thence to

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[1] Petrus Angelius, *Cynegetica*, 733 ff.: p. 90, ed. 1568. The following corrections must be made in Fryer's version—l. 2 for "*cornua*" read *cornea*; l. 2 for "*fugiêre*," *fugere*; l. 4 for "*albo*," *alba*; l. 5 for "*densantur*," *densentur*. For the last three lines, read:—

Nigraque per medios decurrit taenia lumbos;
Linea quam clunes tractim comitatur adimos,
Ultraque distinguens niveo sua tergora ductu.

Lines 1 and 6 are borrowed from Virgil, *Aen.* viii, 596, i, 88.

the Aviaries, where Nature presents not only divers Species, but she has plaid the Wanton, even in diversifying those of the same Kind, either adding or diminishing, as she was provided with Matter; some Birds having more Feet, Wings, or Bills, than belongs to the wonted Frame of the same sort; others again, are deficient in the Parts usually bestowed on the Individuals of the same Race, some exceeding, and others wanting in Stature. But these being accounted Monstrous and out of the Road, I shall forsake them to follow a Couple of long striding Ostriches robbed of their Feathers, which must be certainly very Glorious; they are of the largest size of Birds, wherefore by an Irony called στρουθοκάμελος, as if one should say of a Giant, such an one is an Infant, or a Camel-Bird to be a Sparrow; their Heads, or Crowns, are perfectly Bald, a Palm in Circumference; which *Pliny* avouches in express Terms, *Quædam animalia naturaliter calvent, sicut Strutho Cameli*[1]; some Creatures are naturally Bald, as Ostriches; their Feet have Two Claws only.

Night drawing on, we unwillingly left these Spectacles, and fell into a lovely one between these Groves; for now all the Pride of *Spahaun* was met in the *Chaurbaug*, and the Grandees were Airing themselves, prancing about with their numerous Trains, striving to outvie each other in Pomp and Generosity; but come short of those Incentives to Chivalry that spur on our Gallants; the Graces Adorn our Parks and Malls Crowned with Virgin-Garlands, whose loose Garments wave with the flowing Wind, and provoke the Amorous Spark to list himself a Volunteer under those Banners; whose Maiden Faces bear the fresh Colour of the blooming Roses on the Lilly White of their natural Complexion, being wonderfully taking both in their Shape and Meen; Chearful and Free in their Discourse, but with

[1] Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* xi, 47.

an awful Comeliness; Facetious and Pleasant, but with an unspotted Innocence; enough to make *Cato* shake off his Severity and reconcile himself to Good Nature: Such *Daphnes* as these (worthy the great *Apollo*) alas! this Cursed Soil knows not the Blessing of, nor dare they trust them out of Doors; for their fiery Spirits (like Water cast on Sea-Coal) by the Society of such Nymphs, would render their Heat more intense by intemperate Jealousies.

After the *Armenians* had treated us, the *French* Artisans thought themselves concerned to do the like; that they might not be thought to live here in Slavery, but in a Condition to Entertain, not only their Friends, but to equal the highest Flights the *Armenians* could pretend to; and for the Honour of their King and Nation, we were called on St. *Lewis* his Day[1], which they Solemnized with fresh Devices of Fireworks, Illuminations, Interludes, and Farces; besides the Extravagances of Banquetting and Carowsing, Drinking the *Sophi*'s Health, and their Master's, after all the *European* Monarchs.

The next day, with the Noise of loud Musick, we were Invited by them into the Country to a Fish Dinner by the River side, as of Mullets, Crey Fish, Pickeril[2], and the like; for it is not for every one to feed on Lampry, Turbat, Goldney[3], or Sturgion, formerly held as dainty Bits by the Rich *Roman* Gluttons, as *Apicius*, *Vitellus*, and *Lucullus*. However here are Salmon from the *Caspian* Sea[4], and the

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[1] August 25 or 26.

[2] A small pike.

[3] The Goldeney, Golden-eye, perhaps the Golden Wrasse, but commonly used to render L. *aurata* or *scarus* (*New Eng. Dict. s.v.*).

[4] The Caspian Sea "produces quantities of fish, especially sturgeon, at the river mouths salmon, and other big kinds of fish" (Marco Polo, i, 52). "During the frost they bring from the *Caspian* Sea great store of Salmon or Salmon-Trouts, four or five feet long" (Tavernier, 146). "With fishes also, as Trowt, Pike, Carp, Sturgeon, Conger, Lamprey, Tuney, Gudgeon, Thornback, Cockles, Oysters, Mussells, Crabs, Limpits, Dog-fish, and Cackrell; most of these the Caspian Sea afforded us" (Herbert, 177). Morier (*First Journey*, 231) speaks of receiving a fresh salmon, 25 lbs. weight, from the Caspian. Salmon and herring

Urchin (though not that admired one of the Ocean for its delicious Taste) this being not for Food but Diversion, under the Hedges and Trees of an Orchard by the Bank of the River.

The sly Nature and cunning Thefts of which Creature, though they are made famous by many of the Learnedst Philosophers, yet none more Graphically expresses them than these Facetious Verses:

Ergo ubi lapsa jacent sua quisque sub arbore poma
Accedunt Læti, seque in sua terga volutant,
Donec fixa rubis hærentia mala supremis
Exportent; implentque penum liventibus uvis;
Quorum acinis quoties sentes onerantur acutæ
Perjucunda sui præbent spectacula nobis,
Quippe humeros tecti sic ingrediuntur, ut ipsâ
Ire putes totos avulsos vite racemos.
Ah! tibi ne cupidos sensus tam tangat habendi,
Tantus amor furem ut tentes arcere jocosum,
Atque oculos durus jucundo avertere Ludo
Eripere, & natis dulcem expectantibus escam[1].

Under the Trees where Apples lye,
They come apace, full fraught with Joy;
And rowling on their Backs, they fix
The tender Apples to their Pricks;
Which carrying off, they come again,
And with ripe Grapes their Store maintain:
Whose Thorny Bristles fully stuck,
A pleasant Sight it is to look,
And see them march, laid o're with Fruit,
As if they'd stole the Vine to boot.
Ah! let not Covetous Intent,
The Waggish Thief at all prevent;
Or Surly drive him from his Prey,
Who bears them thus to's Young away.

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from the Caspian Sea were among the dishes provided by Mirza Ahmak for his feast to the Shah (*Hajji Baba*, ed. 1851, p. 149). The only freshwater fish now valued in Persia are salmon and trout (Wills, 298). Also see *Travels of a Merchant in Persia*, in *Travels of Venetians in Persia* (Hakluyt Soc. 171).

[1] Petrus Angelius, *Cynegetica*, Bk. IV, 683 ff.: p. 120, ed. 1568. In line 1 for "*quisque*" read *quaeque*; in l. 4 for "*exportent*" *exportant*; l. 9 *del.* stop after "*habendi.*"

It is called by the *Latins*, *Echinus*[1], from the *Greek*, παρὰ τὸ ἔχειν, seu συνεχεῖν ἑαυτον, because it contracts its self, being touched; by some *Erinaceus*, of which there are two sorts[2], and in our Tongue are called Hedge-hogs, the one with a Snout like an Hog's, and the other a Nose like a Dog's, both which are beset with sharp Thorns or Prickles on their Backs; and when they fear any harm towards them, gather themselves into a round Fuz-ball.

In some few places where the Water was purposely pent in, we saw some Flocks of Water Fowl, which the *Persians* are skill'd, by their long Case-harden'd Guns, to shoot flying.

The best Hawks of *Muscovia* are purchased here at great Rates, nor undeservedly[3], for they will strike down those *Colum*[4] that are as big as Wild Turkies, and visit *India* in the Cold Season, eleven or a dozen one after another, as they fly in Trains like Wild Geese, and come down with the last themselves: Some of these we saw tried, which was pleasant Sport: They have some Hawks of their own, but they are of a Cowardly Breed to these, they teaching the Crows of the Country to be too hard for them; whereby it is familiar to give an Hundred *Thomands* for a right *Muscovia* Hawk; of which they are so great Lovers, that they seldom appear abroad without one of them on their Hand.

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[1] Gr. ἐχῖνος.

[2] Sixteen species of the genus have been recognised by some zoologists (*Ency. Brit.*[9], xi, 610: ed.[11], viii, 871 ff.).

[3] "They have many excellent Eyeries of Eagles, Lannars, Goshawkes, and Hobbies: their best Falcons are out of *Russia* and other *Scythick* Provinces: they fly them at choice game, commonly at Hares, Jackalls, Partrich, Phesant, Herne, Pellican, Poot, Estrich, &c. Their Lures, Jesses, Varvills, and Hoods, are richly set with stones of great price and lustre" (Herbert, 233). Ovington (271) says that Persian falcons were imported into India. For Persian falconry, see *Bāz-nāma-i-Nāsirī*, ed. D. G. Phillott (1909): Josapha Barbaro, *Travels to Tana and Persia*, 19: in modern times, Malcolm, *Sketches*, 28 f.

[4] Vol. i, 280.

Some of them in their Swoops are so couragious, as to seize the Heads of Deer or Antelopes, and seating themselves with their Talons between their Horns, pick out their Eyes, or doze them with their Beaks, or stupify them with their Strokes; so that no Hunting in the World is like it, to see them soaring in a wide Plain where Herds of these are, (especially if there be these Water-pits for the Courses under Ground[1]), at once to observe them guarding their Fronts, scampering with their Heads to the Earth, to avoid the tow'ring Enemy aloft; sometimes unawares to fall Captives into these Wells, not suspecting the Danger under foot, so much as avoiding that which threatens them over head, whereby they run into Thickets, or against Shrubs and Stumps of Trees, tumbling and leaping unadvisedly, so that Greyhounds being set upon them, easily overtake them.

Not by this Stratagem to derogate from their Greyhounds[2], which are as good as most of that kind, well-shap'd and swift, but shagged with long Hair, yet for all that are kept cloathed as their Horses in Winter, and all the Year besides rubbed, dressed, and covered with lighter Cloaths: The other Dogs are but Curs; they are Strangers to our Bloodhounds; but have many *English* Mastiffs[3] in

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[1] He refers to the underground irrigation channels, for which see vol. ii, 199 f.

[2] "They have good Greyhounds not unlike the Irish, apt to encounter any Lyon. They have Spaniells also but no good as their Hawkes may challenge" (Herbert, 233). Malcolm (*Sketches*, 29) describes antelope hunting with greyhounds. According to Wills (305 f.) the modern Persian greyhounds are of two kinds, "the Arab dog, similar in all respects to a small English greyhound, but deficient in bottom; the Persian dog, with longer hair and feathered ears, feet, and tail, with immense bottom, but deficient in speed: these are often crossed."

[3] Mastiffs were often brought from England as gifts for Eastern princes. Terry (*Voyage*, 140 f.) gives a lively account of two, each carried in a little coach, as a present to the Grand Mogul, Jahāngīr, who had a great longing for mastiffs, tall Irish greyhounds, and other hunting dogs (*Āīn*, i, 290). Also see Sir T. Roe, ii, 28 f.

good Repute, which breed, and are very serviceable to keep their Houses, striking Terror into the Assailants more than a Guard of Watchmen.

Here are no Parks, Forests, or Chaces for Sport, nor Meres or Decoys for Game, nor indeed Medows yielding Hay for their Cattel, their Fodder being chopped Straw, and Barley their Provender all over the Empire; nor are here any Woods more than inclosed in Gardens, which is unfit for Building or Firing; yet of the tall Maple or Sycamore they have slit Boards for their Chests for Wine and Fruit; neither is there any Turf or Coal, so that Firing is more worth than Food, being forced to send Camels to fetch it many days Journy hence, as has been said at our first coming hither.

In our Return we observed several Tombs of the Ancient *Gabers*, after the same manner as the *Parsies* in *India*; and at top of the Mountains such Monuments as are on the sides of the Plain of *Persepolis*, and one more eminent, in Honour of their great Champion, *Rustam*; but who this *Rustam* was, both their Annals and Tradition give an unsatisfactory Account[1].

On the 19th of *August* an Eclypse of the Sun[2] made us take notice of the Alteration of the Weather, which was stormy and tempestuous; as well as the lamentable plight all the *Mahometans* were in, they supposing that Orb to

[1] A rocky height near Ispahān supports some ruins of modern date, which are called Qal'a or Takht-i-Rustam, from the tradition that the national hero built a fortress here.

[2] Fryer's dates are far from clear: but he seems to refer to the year 1677. Mr W. H. Wesley, Assistant Secretary of the Royal Astronomical Society, has kindly tried to identify this eclipse, but without much success. According to the tables of Oppolzer, only two eclipses of the sun occurred in 1677, one annular on May 31, and one total on November 24. The former was visible in Central Africa and Ceylon, and the latter in the Pacific Ocean and part of America. In 1676 there was an annular eclipse on June 11, visible just to the N. of the Persian Gulf. This was probably visible as a partial eclipse at Ispahān. The next total eclipse, visible at Ispahān, was on November 6, 1695. Fryer (vol. i, 275) has already described observances at eclipses.

be in Labour, and therefore by Prayers and Incantations concerned at its Delivery, all the time beating Pots of Brass, making a Noise as dreadful as the Day of Doom: The Eclypse being over, the Weather cleared up again, as also the Madness of the People was allay'd.

All *September* the Mornings and Evenings were sharp, and the *North-West* Winds began to bring the Winter's Cold, though the Daytime was Hot and Serene; wherein we made another Excursion through the Suburbs on the farther side of the Court, to *Jelfa*, through new *Buzzars*, finer and better Arch'd than those in the City, terminating in the Squares of divers Noblemen, who had reared them at their own Charge and Advantage; whereby they were more Costly and Neat, broad enough for two Coaches to pass abreast, though this City is unacquainted with those Carriages; nor indeed would they be convenient, by reason of the Narrow Streets within, and Mountains without.

These brought us a long way to the River-side, adorned with Dwellings of their Great Men, over which, to the Christian Town, lay another Bridge, inferior neither for Length, or Elegancy of Structure, to either of the former two, but much later built. At the Foot of it is a large Coppice of Willows, reaching a great way by the Water-side; here the *Jelfalines* met us with their usual Noise of loud Musick, and led us directly up to a Mountain, where the Emperors have digged a Grotto overlooking all the City, at their Retirements hither shading them from the Sun's Violence: This is fabled to be also *Solomon*'s Throne, as we remarked before in *Duccan*; others pretend it was projected by *Darius*, but for what end, unless for a Prospect of this large place hid in a Wood, I cannot guess[1].

[1] The place probably referred to by Fryer is thus described by Curzon (ii, 58 f.). "Immediately to the south of Julfa the red rocky ramparts of the Kuh-i-suffa...frame the landscape with their gaunt

Hence in two days we compassed the two Cities of *Ispahaun* and *Jelfa*, taking more Ground by far than *London* and *Southwark* with their Suburbs, but then the most part is filled with Gardens; however I believe them not to be so populous: Yet the *Frenchmen* here avouch, That more Melons, Cucumbers, and other Horary Fruits are consumed in this Place in a Month, than in *Italy*, *France*, and *Spain*, in half a Year, estimating by Balance of Six thousand Ass or Mules Loads of them expended every day: For though they have good Butchers Meat and Poultry, their chiefest Diet is on Fruit; and if such vast Quantities be brought out of the Country daily, besides what may be planted within their own Walls, it may be concluded some Thousands of Inhabitants contribute to the devouring of them; though it must not be credited what is spoken hyperbolically by these Citizens, That it is the biggest City in the World, and therefore by way of Excellency called, *The World*[1].

It is not fenced by Walls, nor has it more than one strong Tower with Mud Walls, fitter for Butts for Bows and Arrows, than to repulse a Cannon-Bullet; only serviceable at present to be the Exchequer of the Emperor, where are laid up great Treasures, the present *Sophi*[2] being

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and ragged outlines. In a recess or terrace on their northern front, less than half-way up and overlooking the capital, a platform or summer-house was built by Shāh Suleimān, and called Takht-i-Suleimān, upon the site of a former hermitage. Only the ruins of the villa now remain, but the climb is repaid by the fine view."

[1] The local proverb runs: *Isfahān nisf-i-jahān*, "Isfahān is half the world." On various accounts of the size of the city, see Curzon, ii, 22 f.

[2] Shāh-Sulaimān (1666–94) "was a weak, unwarlike, and dissolute prince, whose time was divided between his haram and the pleasures of the table" (Malcolm, *H. of Persia*, i, 394). "The Walls of Ispahan are of Earth, to which do belong some pittiful Towers without Battlements or Platforms, Bastions or Redoubts, or any other Fortification. The Moats also are as bad, neither broad nor deep, but always dry. In some places also the people have beaten down great gaps in the Wall, to get the nearest way into the City" (Tavernier, 149).

an intolerable Hoarder, beneath the Majesty of so mighty a Prince, repining even at mean Expences.

But leaving him to his Covetous Humour, it remains only to take notice of the Season at the end of this Month, inasmuch as Bodies undergo herein the Autumnal Changes, which afflicts them with Pleurisies, Catarrhs, Hoarseness, Consumptions, Coughs, Malignant, Putrid, Intermitting, as also continued Fevers, under this Fifth Climate: To which the Aphorism of the Medical Divine has regard, when it says, Ἐβλέπειν οὖν δεῖ καὶ χώρον καὶ ὥραν; *Dispicere oportet regionem, tempus, &c.* The Regions and Seasons of the Year ought to be enquired into; for the Alterations and Deviations from the usual Seasons are chiefly productive of Diseases; for from Hot and Dry, the Air now passes into Cold and Dry, and at last into Moist; for which reason the *Persians* begin now to put on their Furrs; and the Sky, which hitherto had been clear (except a little at the Change of the Moons), near the middle of *October*, wears a frowning Countenance, and at the end of *November* sends some Showers, according to the Wish of *Virgil*'s Husbandman, to fatten the Earth.

Humida solstitia atque hiemes optare serenas[1].

The Solstice of the Year let them be moist,
The Winter clear, and curdled o're with Frost.

But before that Barren Time approaches, take a small Catalogue of what the other Seasons produce.

FRUITS[2],

Apples.
Cherries.
Jujubies.
Mulberries, White and Red:

On the first of which only the Silk-Worms are fed, despising the Leafs of the other.

Pears.

[1] *Umida solstitia atque hiemes orate serenas* (Virgil, *Geor.* i, 100).

[2] For accounts of the fruits and flowers of Persia, see Morier, *Second Journey*, 92: Wills, 168, 171, 298, 300, 309: Stack, i, 101, 129, ii, 56: Browne, 236, 282, 348, 387: Miss Sykes, 148, 152, 201.

Prunellaes.
Sebastans[1].
All those we call *Wall-Fruit*, without that help.

HERBS,

Balm.
Burdock[2].
Betes, White and Black.
Borrage[3].
Cabbage.
Coleworts.
Colliflowers.
Cichory[4].
Clary[5].
Hyssop.
Lactise[6].
Mustard.
Marjoran.
Mallows.
Minth.
Nettles, Alive and Dead.
Parsley.
Plantain.
Purslain.
Pennyroyal.
Pimpernel.
Savory[7].
Spinach.
Thyme.

FLOWERS,

Clovegilliflowers.
Blewbottles[8].
Jasmins of all sorts.
Lillies of all sorts.
Holyoak.
Marigolds.
Roses.
Poppies, White and Red.
Primroses.
Saffron.
Violet.

ROOTS, *or* Bulbu's,

Asparagus.
Artichokes, not in the Leaf as ours, but from the Root and Stalk.
Carrots.

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[1] Probably the fruit of *Cordia Myxa*, known in India as Sebesten, which is Pers. *Sipistān*. The fruit is eaten in India by the natives, and is also pickled (Watt, *Econ. Dict.* ii, 563 ff.).

[2] "A coarse weedy plant (*Arctium lappa*, and kindred species) common on waste ground, bearing prickly flower-heads called burs, and large leaves like those of the dock" (*New Eng. Dict.*).

[3] The common British borage is *Borago officinalis* (Watt, i, 492).

[4] Chicory or Succory, *Cichorium intibus.* [5] *Salvia clara.*

[6] Possibly lettuce. The *New Eng. Dict.* does not give this exa form, the nearest being laictuse, lactuse.

[7] One of the *Labiatae*, nearly allied to thyme.

[8] The blue cornflower, *Centaurea cyanus.*

Eringoes[1].
Garlick.
Hermodactyls[2].
Liquorice.
Madder.
Onions.
Parsnips.
Rhadish, Wild and Garden.
Rhubarb.
Turnips.

SHRUBS,

Berberies.
Cotton.
Coriander.
Fœnicle[3].
Fenigræce[4].
Sena.
Rosebriar.

TREES,

Sycamore.
Ivy.
Maple, the Lesser.
Poplar.
Ulmes[5].
Willows.

Which I mention only to see what relation it has to what grows in *England,* and have set down thus to avoid Tautology.

To shut up therefore this Discourse, I shall borrow an Indication from the Tall Trees growing in a free Air; for from their bending towards any Point of the Compass, thence is collected from what Quarter of the Heavens the most forcible and frequent Winds do come, in what Region soever they blow; so Trees growing near the Sea-shore, incline towards the Land, but up-land in *Persia* they grow upright, which shews no constant Winds to have any such Influence; though from the *Autumnal Equinox*, the

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[1] Usually applied to the Sea Holly, *Eryngium maritimum*: Fryer may mean *E. cæruleum* (Watt, iii, 268).

[2] "Finger of Hermes," a species of *Colchicum*, much valued by Arab, Greek, and Indian Physicians, for which see Watt, ii, 501 f.

[3] *Fœniculum vulgare*, fennel, a perennial attaining the height of 5 or 6 feet (Watt, iii, 405 f.).

[4] *Trigonella fœnum-græcum*: fenugreek (*Ibid.* vi, Pt IV, 86 ff.).

[5] *Ulmus.* The *New Eng. Dict.* gives ulm or ulme as variants of elm.

North-West ushers in the Wet Weather, to make way for the Frost and Snow till *December*, yet it is often variable, and veres to the *East*, when it is pinching Cold, from *January* to the middle of *February*.

The first New Moon in *October* brings the *Musslemens* Lent of *Ramazan*[1], which hapned on the 10th this Year, and was the same day our Agent set forth for *Bunder*, leaving me sick behind. The 16th of *November* put an end to their Fast, and began a Day of Jubilee; when the Leafs were all dropped off, and the Earth and Trees were naked; after which, Bodies indisposed sue for a Writ of Ease, and as the Winter is more piercing, they recover Health.

December locks up all in Ice and Snow, and constipates the Pores of the Earth that it cannot be tilled; the Tops of Mountains are all capped, and the Sharp Winds and Serene Air make it less tolerable than in *Great Britain*, it being ready to cut you through; though then in the Sun it is so warm, that the Poor are beholden to it for their Stoves: It seldom snows above three or four days together, but that is sufficient to load the Mountains, and to fill the Valleys for many days, before it be dissolved. And then it proves fatal to the Houses built only of Mud; for whilst they seek to secure the Roof, many times by sweeping it thence, the Snow melts at the bottom, and undermines their Foundations, that oftentimes they become mixt with the Dirt in the Streets.

In this Season Stoves[2] are no less in use in *Persia*, than

[1] See vol. i, 270.

[2] "In all Houses there are little Chambers, in the middle whereof there is a square hole about a foot deep, and three or four foot long, according to the bigness of the Chamber. Over the hole is a thing like one of our *Tabourets*, which covers the hole with a large Carpet, to keep in the heat of that which is kindl'd in the hole; so that being placed under the *Tabouret* as far as the wast, though cold as ice before, in a minute you would be almost in a sweat, and be ready to fall a-sleep, if you take not a great care" (Tavernier, 238). This arrangement is known as *Kūrsī*, and is described by Wills, 137: Miss Sykes, 21: Lady Sheil, 100.

in the extremest Cold Parts of the World, by which they cherish the innate Heat, otherwise like enough to be opprest; which they do after a peculiar manner: In the middle of a Square close Room, they dig an Hearth Foursquare (not raised, as in our College-halls), over which is set a Square, Low, but Large Table, whereon is thrown a Quilt, and upon the Hearth is only set an Earthen Pot of Charcoal; all the rest of the Room is spread with Beds and Quilts, into which, whoever comes (after his Slippers are put off) he thrusts his Feet under the Quilt covering the Table; which way, though it keep them warm, is prejudicial to the Nerves and Brain, by reason of the Mercurial Fumes arising from the Charcoal; being obliged to use that for want of plenty of Wood to Burn in Chimnies; the Conveniency whereof they are unacquainted with, having never seen any Chimney but what is in the *English* Factory.

Their Kitchins are all over of a Smoak like our Malt Kills, with such ventilating Tiles as they have, they rounding their Cook Rooms with small Furnaces, such as our Chymists make in their Laboratories, setting their Earthen, or Copper Pots thereon, not hanging them on Pothooks as we do.

And last of all, for a final and undeniable Experiment of the Pureness and Clearness of the Air here, let a Sword, never so well Polished, (and they have the best Damascened Swords) lie unsheathed a whole Night, or longer, in Snow, or Water; take it thence and never wipe it, and it shall not Rust: Besides, now at *Christmas* time the Grapes sold for Food in the Market are so dry they may be powdered; Carry these individual Grapes down to Port, and you shall in Four or Five days (short of the *Bunder*) sensibly perceive them to imbibe the thicker Air, and contract a Clamminess; which proceeds from the remoteness of *Spahaun* from any Sea, Navigable River, Lake, or Fenn; the *Caspian* Sea

being the nearest, which is Five hundred Miles off; besides its being environed with dry barren Mountains, whence come fine, rare, and thin Blasts; insomuch that could Bodies ever be in an Equilibrium as to their Temperament, certainly it might be preserved here rather than in any other place; for whatsoever Stranger comes hither with an Healthy Constitution, it is very lasting[1]; and the Natives who live Temperately, witness a good old Age, with a continued state of Health; the Endemial Diseases of this Country being rather Acute than Chronical.

We must close up this Year with the sad News of the Death of our President at *Surat*[2]; He was a *Mecænas* of Honest Studies; a great Cherisher of Ingenuity; of a Generous and Free Access; Masculinely Candid; a Master of all Languages and Sciences, as well as Skilled in Military Virtues; as if *Mars* had undertaken the Protection of the Muses: But so envious are the Fates, that the best things are snatch'd away first.

To this lover of Arts and Learning, our Agent, now at Port, by the Appointment of the Honourable Company, is to Succeed, and accordingly he is preparing for his departure to supply that Vacancy.

And, as if it were not fit one Mischief should pass unattended; at the same time we had an Account of the Villanous and Barbarous Attempt of the *Molaians* at

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[1] "Fever and ague, and at times dysentery, have been common, but otherwise the health of the staff has been wonderfully good; far better, in fact, than it would have been in Europe, for the mortality has been very low indeed. A peculiar immunity from the attacks of intermittent fever, to which we were nearly all subject, was seen in the case of European females, who seldom suffered from it. But the climate was not favourable to young children, who were much affected by the sun, against which sufficient precaution was rarely taken" (Wills, 296).

[2] Gerald Aungier died at Surat 30th June, 1677. He was succeeded by Thomas Rolt, whom Hunter (ii, 227) calls "a commonplace official, called from the agency in Persia." The date of his death is corroborated from the I. O. Records (F. R. Surat iv, 68[2]: O. C. 4270, 4287, 31 August, 1677).

Bantam[1], on the *English* Agent and the Factors there (who were only supposed to Espouse the Old King's Quarrel against the New) as they were in their Boats diverting themselves with their Ladies, unawares were set upon and Assassinated by Ruffians hid in the Flags and Osiers on the Rivers sides, and all Cut off; not without some reasonable Reflections that the neighbouring *Batavians* were Accessories, having a jealousy of the *English* Trading for Pepper in those Parts, and for that cause have promoted Animosities betwixt Father and Son; taking this opportunity to send Forces to the Son's Assistance, but in reality to secure *Bantam* for themselves, while they have forced the Old King up the Country, to expect his Majesty of *Great Britain*'s Strength in vain, by Embassador's sent thither to Reinstate him. Thus watchful and vigorous are the *Hollanders* to get all the Spice Trade of *East-India* into their own Hands, that they may solely enjoy it without any Competitors.

CHAP. VIII.

Brings us in the midst of Winter from Spahaun *to* Gombroon; *The* Caun's *Pranks there*: *The Hot Baths at* Genoe: *The* Equinox *and Seasons attending are somewhat parallel betwixt this Coast and the* Indian: *A New Agent arrives.*

THE Agent of *Persia* having left *Gombroon* to go to fill up the Chair at *Surat*[2], the Second at *Spahaun* was obliged to repair thither to take care of the Company's

[1] The Molaians are probably Malays. In 1677 the Javanese, at the instigation of the Dutch, sacked the Company's factory at Bantam, and assassinated the Agent. In consequence of this the factory books were closed and conveyed to the Court of Directors (Birdwood, *Report*, 225). The assassination at Bantam, including the murder of Agent White, are recorded in the I. O. Records (O. C. 4287, 4563).

[2] "Wee take notice of yr. Honrs orders as to Agent Rolt's succession to the Presidency" (I. O. Records, O. C. 4287, 4th September, 1677).

Concerns there; with whom, I being now Recovered, on the 10th of *January*, with a *French* Chirurgeon in our Company, in the depth of Winter we set forth for the *Persian* Gulf.

We return'd the same way, Travelling only in the Day time till we came to *Esduchos*[1], where because the Snow had shut up the Valleys, we were forced to leave it on the right, and go about by the high Road, not frequented in Summer time so much by light Horsemen, as now, there being no Passage the other way; wherefore our Entertainment this Journy is less Hospitable, and the Caravan generally more rude, it being the usual Tract for Camels and their Drivers (they most an end providing only for themselves) and better Guests being seldom or never expected; so that in all probability we might expect to encounter Hardships; but the Silver Bait procured all things that Man could furnish us with; and we met with no other Difficulties than what the Weather created us.

Against which we guarded our selves by good warm Furs, which are some of Sables, Fox-Furs, or Sheeps-Wool artificially Crisped, and others for Servants of Sheep Skins undressed, and their Coats lined therewith, the shaggy Fleece remaining untouched; and over all, to prevent the sharp Winds deglubating us, we Housed our selves Cap-a-pee under Felts, or *Yaupengees*[2], kneaded into Coats with Sleeves, with a Scapular to pull over our Heads and Face; a well fixed Nose being hardly Proof against such cutting Cold. Whether these Coats we wore against this Season, might not be such as our Saviour is said to have on, (these being Seamless and the Wear of the Poor People) I remit to our Casuists.

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[1] See vol. ii, 233 where the routes are mentioned.
[2] See vol. ii, 184.

From *Esduchos* to *Chuldestan*[1], is Eight *Pharsangs*, whither we came in a Day, by the help of our *Shotters*, or Footmen guiding us; whose Bells our Horses followed, when we durst not peep out to direct them. Here a large Camel, raging with Lust for the Female, as his Keeper was Feeding him, with Past of Barly Meal made into Balls, he got his whole Arm into his Mouth, and had not there been present a great many ready for his Relief, he had been destroyed by him: This Fury lasts Forty Days, when they Foam at the Mouth, and are very Unruly, at other times nothing being more Governable[2].

From hence to *Obedah*[3] are Six *Pharsangs*; it is a large Village abounding with Vineyards, which reach as far as *Zermaw*[4], Four *Pharsangs* farther; hitherto we Travelled Carpet-way, all the Ground being covered with Snow, and most an end the Sun obscured, and sometimes the Clouds falling in fleecy White Rain, as the poor *Indians* express it, who were almost starved to Death by the excessive Cold, and stormy Blasts from the Mountains.

At *Conacaraw*[5], Eight *Pharsangs* more, it began to clear up (though we seemed to carry the Winter with us,

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[1] Shulgistān, about 24 miles S.E. of Yezdikhast. "There are a ruined caravanserai of Shah Abbas, and a dirty *imamzadeh* with a green-tiled cupola, covering the remains of Mohammed, a son of the Imam Zein-el-Abidin" (Curzon, ii, 69).

[2] "Kostenko tells us that in Turkistan the male gets *must* in the winter (from December to January), but in India this occurs from January to April. During this time the male refuses food and water, and becomes unmanageable" (Watt, *Econ. Dict.* ii, 56).

[3] Abadeh, about 18 miles S.E. of Shulgistān; "a large walled village, surrounded by numerous gardens, well-watered, and planted with trees" (Curzon, ii, 69). Also see Morier, *Second Journey*, 123: Browne, 232: Wills, 261. It is famous for the beautifully carved sherbet-spoons (*qāshuq*), and boxes made from pear or box-wood (Curzon, *loc. cit.*: Wills, 332).

[4] Surmē of Browne (233), Surmek of Curzon (ii, 69), about 18 miles S.E. of Abadeh. From here a well-known Caravan route diverges viâ Abarguh to Yezd.

[5] Khān-i-Kharrē of Browne (233), Khān-i-Khoreh of Curzon (ii, 69 f.), who calls it "merely a post-house and a caravanserai in a bleak desert." It is about 20 miles S.E. of Surmē.

there having been little afore our Arrival); and at *Dehid*[1], Six *Pharsangs* more, we left the Plains on the Hills all along Planted with Vines, to ascend the *Pylæ Persicæ*[2], now covered with Snow, horribly bleak, and perishingly cold with frosty Winds, that either Pole might possibly be more tolerable, they being fenced with Thicker Air, this being so sharp that it passed our skill to keep our Skins whole; for if the Sun did favour one side, the other side was shaved with cruel Blasts; nor did that fare better which was exposed to the scorching Beams; that had we not been provided with the Pomatum mentioned before (the Butter of the greater cool Seeds) we had been in a sore condition; but Anointing our Hands and Face going to Bed, the next Morning healed them.

At *Conacurgu*[3] we found a Bridge necessary to pass upon the dissolving of the Snow from the Ridges of the Hills, and tracing the Mountains, we came in Eight *Pharsangs* to *Mushat*[4]; notable for the Sepulchre of one of their Twelve Apostles to their false Prophet; here we were glad to take up in a Farmer's House, in an Apartment whereof having caused a Fire to be kindled, where I was to lie, my Servant, after I was in Bed and asleep, hulking about the Fire, fell with his Felt Coat, being Drowsy, upon the Embers; which Burning made such a smother, that I was almost stifled in the close Room before I could find the Way out; yet he lay Snoaring and unconcerned, when

[1] Dihbīd, "village of willows," 18 miles S.E. of Khān-i-Khurrē; the Dehebeth of Barbaro: "one of the coldest inhabited places in Persia" (Curzon, ii, 70). The plateau on which it stands is 8000 feet above sea level. It is famous for cheese (Goldsmid, 309: Sykes, 331).

[2] See vol. ii, 227 and Curzon i, 293 ff.

[3] Khān-i-Kirgān, about 12 miles, two hours' march S. of Dihbīd (Browne, 235).

[4] Mashhad-i-Murghāb, 12 miles S. of Khān-i-Kirgān, and a little N. of the ruins of Pasargadae. Mashhad, "the place of martyrdom or witness"; Murghāb, "water-fowl." Travellers do not mention any Musalmān tomb here. Possibly Fryer is confounding it with the other and more revered Mashhad or Meshed.

I could not get rid of the stench in my Throat some Days after.

The Day following, we by Two Bridges crossed Two Rivers more, or it may be the same that run to *Bindamire*; and in a rainy wet Day took up our Lodgings at *Zevan*[1], but Five *Pharsangs*, and the next Day saw *Persepolis* again; entring the Plain by Two Pillars, upon whose Cornish was delineated double-headed Horses as far as the Chest; leaving those Ruins *Quintus Curtius* so much Celebrated, despoiled of their Riches, we went through *Meergoscoon*[2], at the backside whereof the Plain was covered all along with Wild-Fowl, which were so Tame they would almost permit us to knock them on the head with our Sticks, not offering to stir till we came on them, they being not used to be disturbed.

At Night we reached *Zergoon*[3], through slippery and slabby Way, and the Day after we brought with us the first Snow to *Siras*.

Here we rested Five Days, having lost Two Mules and One Packhorse out of Seven and twenty, and One Houshold-Servant out of Ten that attended us; another we left behind at *Moxutebeggy*[4], who was our Cook; and had it not been for the *French* Chirurgeon, we had been put to our shifts, he both shooting and dressing most of our Victuals after the most exquisite *French* Way of Cookery:

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[1] Sīvand, 12 miles S.W. of Pasargadae: now the last telegraph station before Shīrāz (Browne, 244).

[2] The identification of this place is uncertain. Prof. Browne suggests that it may represent Murghāb or Mashhad-i-Murghāb, Pasargadae. It seems to be the place called by P. della Valle Mehrchouscon (Pinkerton, ix, 107). Another suggestion is that it may be Marvdasht Khan, the serai of the Marvdasht plain, for which see Curzon, ii, 135 f.: Browne, 243 ff.

[3] Zargān of Browne (256 ff.): Zerghun of Curzon (ii, 93), according to the latter "famous for its muleteers, built at the base of a rocky chasm. For a distance of about 3 miles from Zerghun to the very outskirts of Shiraz...the post-road is one of the stoniest and most disagreeable in Persia."

[4] See vol. ii, 234.

Nor must any of us at this time take State upon him; for our Servants, not used to such Weather, became rather an Impediment than Help to us; listless, and loth to stir, but always crowding in among us, cringing, and never at ease but when about the Fire; not to be rowz'd on any occasion; rather looking for Service from us; by whose Slothfulness we became as lowsy as Beggars, their huge Shags harbouring such Vermin, and they by no means being to be drove out of our Company, but laid themselves a-nights on the same Floor with us. In this short space the Sun began to recover Strength, dissolving the Snow as fast as it fell.

Having shifted our Lowzy Companions, they began to brisk up by degrees, as they felt the Warmth to increase upon them: Here our Interpreter, a *Georgian* Soldier, and a *Carmelite* Friar, joined us; (the *French* Chirurgeon being bound for *Bunder Reek*[1], left us): And the 29th of *January*, shaking off the hospitable Impertinencies of such as followed us out of the City, we gained that Night *Bobba-Hodge*[2]; and the next Day travelled Fasting, for the Execrable Death of the Martyr *Charles* the First; which something discountenanced the *Carmelite*, seeing a Table spread, as Customary, at Noon, and not an *Englishman* to eat a Bit, or drink a Drop; but being informed of the Reason, he was more amazed, saying, He wonder'd at our Strictness, since on their Fasting-days they were allowed a Buccado[3] of Sweetmeats and a Glass of Wine before Noon, and at Noon a small Repast, and so likewise in the Afternoon, but at Night a good plentiful Supper: With the latter part we promised we would agree with him, but for the other we thought there was no great Restraint put upon Nature.

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[1] See vol. ii, 191. [2] See vol. ii, 208.

[3] Span. *bocado*, Ital. *boccata*, "a mouthful, morsel." Bocados are slices of quinces, apples, etc. made up into conserves (F. Corona Bustamente, *Span. and English Dict.* 1882).

On the last Day of the Month we found *Caifar*[1], a pleasant Village, bearing the first Fruitful Palm this Way, where the Myrtle and the Orange-Tree is always Green, yielding Flowers in Blossoms, Ripe and Green Fruit all at one and the same time: Here springs up the Bell-Flower, Violet, and Primrose; so that we may now sing with *Horace*;

Solvitur acris hyems gratâ vice veris & Favoni,
Ac neque jam stabulis gaudet pecus aut arator igni, &c.[2]

Favonius Breath sharp Winters Ice doth thaw;
Beasts leave their Stalls, Plough-swains their Fires forgo;
Nor are the Meadows White with Drifts of Snow.
Now *Cytherea* under *Cynthia's* Shine,
Danceth around, and lovely Graces join
With Nymphs, the Earth in measured Strains to beat,
Whilst *Vulcan* in his glowing Forge doth sweat.
Now with Green Myrtle crown thy sleek oyl'd Head,
Or Flowers, which the mellow Earth doth spread.
To *Faunus* now in Groves I do advise,
Either a Kid or Lamb thou sacrifice.

Which Counsel we took, not out of an *Epicurean* Fancy, to live merrily, because of the common Necessity of Death, as in this Ode he exhorteth *Sextius*; but to compensate for our past Labours, and enable us the better to undergo this troublesome Journy: Here we indulged in a never-dying Green Orchard, mixing the Flavour of the Oranges, which are as good as grow, with our new *Siras* Wine, exhilarating our selves with the true Relish, and Natural Sweets of this delightful Rural Seat.

But the Checquer-work of this World prepared other Business for the succeeding Day, bringing us over high Rocks, made plain by Cost and Pains: Here on the Tops

[1] Khafre in Wilson's map, about 35 miles N.W. of Jahrum. "I stopt at an Inn built in an octagonal form, a good Legue from the River, with several villages between. The name of the Inn is *Kaffer*" (Tavernier, 251).

[2] Horace, *Carm.* i. iv, 1 ff.

of Mountains we only saw the Snow; however, the Winds blowing off thence, made us feel our quaking Joints struck through with horrid Numbness; by which means nothing more frequently happen'd, than one quarter of an hour to be seized with shivering Blasts; and when they were over, the Sun by its powerful Heat another Quarter to scorch our Skin, exposed to his Rays; by which sudden Alterations, not only our Hands and Faces were vexed, but our whole Bodies suffered Languishment, as *Ovid* before us had tried in his Exile.

Cum modo Frigoribus premitur, modo solvitur Æstu
Tempore non certo, corpora Languor habet[1].

After we had run this Gantlope[2], the *West* Winds setting in, the Season grew more mild, and the 5th of *February* we set out long before Day, which hitherto we had not done; and in our way found sprouting between *Bonaru* and *Rhadar*, *Sanctonicum*[3], Wormwood[4], Maudlin[5], Tansy, Sowthistles, White Horehound, or rather Hermodactyl[6], bearing such a Flower as Saffron, on which the breeding Bezoar-Goats do feed; the Lilly of the Valley, as also, which is rare, Grass, or rather a kind of Grass like our Moss, or such as we see grow among Pavements after a Shower of Rain with us: This was admired by our Interpreter, as if no Place in the World excelled this; which must be imputed to the home-bred Temper of those

[1] Ovid, *Ars Amator.* ii, 317 f. For "*premitur*" read *premimur*. In the second line for "*Tempore*" read Aere. *Corpora languor habet* is also in *Tristia*, iii, 8, 24.

[2] A term, originally Swedish: "A military or naval punishment in which the culprit had to run stripped to the waist between two rows of men, who struck at him with a stick or knotted cord" (*New Eng. Dict. s.v.*).

[3] Worm-seed, Levant Worm-seed, or Santonica (*Artemisia maritima*) (Watt, *Econ. Dict.* i, 324 ff.).

[4] Absinthe (*Artemisia absinthium*) (*Ibid.* i, 323 f.).

[5] An obsolete name for Costmary, *Tanacetum balsamita*, the herb *Achillea ageratum* (*New Eng. Dict. s.v.*).

[6] See vol. ii, 311.

Persians who never stir abroad, or the *nescio quâ dulcedine cunctos*, which adopts a Fondness of their own: In which I pronounce these People happy; for they have small regard either to Foreigners or their Countries, in respect of their Native Soil or Abilities, conceiting themselves superlative in every thing: And from this Habit of Affectation, I have often, I confess, declared them the *French* in these Parts, though they raise themselves a small degree from the Traditions and Rudiments of the Old World.

In the middle Way between *Pokutal*[1] and *Bury*[2], we were threatned with Showers, but got in before they fell: This *Caravan Ser Raw*, since the time of our being here, is almost Thunder-struck a-pieces; and *Lhor* has endured the shock of two terrible Earthquakes.

From whence the Air daily thicken'd in the Atmosphere, and the Sweat began to pour through our Pores, which in a more subtle Air we could not perspire, though Urine flowed there more plentifully; for a Thin Air gathers and contracts the Pores, forbidding the Efflux of Heat or Spirits, constraining the Matter which otherwise would gently breathe forth, precipitating the *Serum* through the Urinary Conduits, and separating it from the Blood, either by Colation in the Reins, or by virtue of some particular Ferment, according to the Doctrine of the Learned *Willis*.

At *Cormoot*[3] we met a Lion[4] and a Spotted Deer[5] carrying up as Presents to the *Sophi* from the *Mogul:* The Lion seemed rather a Catamountain, than such a Majestick Creature as ours in *Europe*, being nigher a Dun Colour

[1] See vol. ii, 197. [2] See vol. ii, 198.

[3] See vol. ii, 189.

[4] The so-called "maneless" lion of Gujarāt (Blanford, *Mammalia*, 56 ff.). Terry (184) speaks of a great lion belonging to the Great Mogul, which ran about the Court like a dog, and never did hurt, "only that he had some keepers that did constantly wait upon him." Tavernier (ed. Ball, i, 81) gives an account of the way in which lions were tamed.

[5] The *Cervus axis* (Blanford, 546 ff.).

than a Dark Red, without Beard, nor haired all from the Head down to the Crest and Thighs; about the Lips it had Bristles like a Cat, and when the Keeper stroaked it, it would make a Noise much the same as a Cat when she purls: These are kept to set upon Bulls before the Emperor, which they do sneakingly, coming behind them to leap upon their Quarters, which one of our right bred *English* Mastiffs would scorn to do; a true Bull dog being too hard a Match for one of these Lions, which has often been proved at the Court of *Persia*, to the Commendation of their Courage.

Hereabouts the Locusts have for these Three Years successively made such waste, that they are almost famished for want of Dates; and though this Town used to supply other Parts, they are forced to seek Sustenance elsewhere for themselves.

On *Valentine's* Eve, two Days before we could see the Sea, we perceived its Stench, the Sun being up some time every day, before he could dispel the Vapours raised thence.

The *French* Agent came to us at *Band Ally*[1], before the Cockcrow on the 15th of *February*, and at Noon the *Dutch* Commodore welcomed our Return, and conducted us to *Gombroon* from the *Caun's* Garden; as did all the Merchants congratulate our Arrival, as well as all the Ships in the Road saluted us upon our entring the Factory.

Since our Departure from *Gombroon*, the *Caun* has been playing his Pranks, having expended vast Sums to buy off his former Offences and Rapins committed in his Government, and endeavouring now by unjust means to reimburse himself: Wherefore no sooner was our Agent come to Port, but he caught our Broker, a Rich *Banyan*, and clapt him into Prison, contrary to the Royal Mandat granted

[1] See vol. ii, 177.

him, extorting from him Five hundred *Thomands*, denying Leave for our Agent in the mean time to go Aboard Ship, in order to embark for his Presidency at *Surat*; begirting the House with Soldiers, lest he should clancularly get away, as he had plotted, and which at last he did, adorning the first Step to his new Province with a foul Disgrace; when he might have done more honourably as the *Dutch* did, by defending their House, and driving away the Guards, keeping their Broker safe in their House, sending a Courier on purpose to acquaint the Emperor; with Orders to let him know, That if this *Caun* were not removed, he must give them License to be gone.

Whilst these things were transacting, Two Stout Ships from *Batavia*, well appointed with Men and Arms, came before *Gombroon*, when the *Caun* began to comply; and our Two Ships sent to fetch the President, sneak'd away, doing nothing. Upon our Arrival at Port the *Flemish* Ships were braving it in the Road, and the *Caun*, to hinder our protesting against his Proceedings, was very humble, and sent to let us understand he would upon the *English* Account submit to any thing: Wherefore to avoid being deluded by his pretended Friendship, which we were not strong enough to affront; and fearing we should have been used as Properties to an Arbitrament, we feigned Excuses to leave the Town for *Asseen*[1].

There was not in this Contest a *Banyan* left in Town, they shifting for themselves as soon as they foresaw the Storm a coming, removing all to *Congo*[2], under the *Caun* of *Lhor*, for Refuge, when they saw the Death of the Laws, when no Sanctuary could be had, nor no Promises nor Oaths were obligatory, Religion made a Stale, and their Houses likely to be made a Prey: Being invited to return,

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[1] See vol. ii, 171.
[2] See vol. ii, 191.

and asked a reason for their Desertion, they gave the Tyrant the same Answer the Fox did the Lion.

——— Quia me vestigia terrent,
Omnia te adversum spectant sed nulla retrorsum[1].

For the *Caun* in his Cups (which indeed being sober he has more than once repeated) transgressed not only the Bonds and Ties of Government, but even of Humanity, perpetrating those Wickednesses which are only essential to Salvages, though never but once called to reckon for them; which *once* had like to have forfeited his Head as well as Place.

The Story is this: Having cruelly butchered one of these Heathens to possess himself of his Wealth, by ripping up his Belly[2], insomuch that his Entrails issued forth with his Blood, he was so brutish and hard-hearted as to sport at the Misery of this helpless Wretch, fallen into the bloody Hands of this Merciless Hellhound: His Friends not being able to deliver him by Force, made use of a directer way to Revenge, and engaged by their Money the great Favourites at Court; thinking no other means so proper to restore to them the Loss of their Assassinated Relation, as by procuring the Overthrow of the *Caun:* Which while they were endeavouring, and had cast him under a Cloud, yet they failed in that Power, whereby he was able to fight against them with their own Weapons, he squeezing them here, while the Great Men drained them like Courtiers, letting their Suit fall in the Mid-way; so that while they flagged in their Bribes, he recovered on their Ruin: The King being only informed of some Misdemeanor, but never instructed with Truth enough to ordain a total

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[1] *Quia me vestigia terrent,*
Omnia te adversum spectantia, nulla retrorsum.
(Horace, *Ep.* i, i, 74 f.)

[2] This form of execution was common, and is mentioned again (Letter v. chap. 9). For Persian modes of execution, see Malcolm, *H. of Persia*, ii, 322 f.

Deprivation, or a Punishment equal to the blackness of the Crime: On which score it is the *Banyans* at this time shun his Dominions, as a Pilot would *Charibdis*, or any Rock he is certain to split on.

We being at *Asseen*, the busy Birds in Rearing and Contriving their Nests and Tenements, became Emblems of Self-preservation; nor were we less taken with productive Nature, that lets not the most unfit Soil want her influence as far as it is capable to bring forth, she not being Idle, even in this place; which as it delighted our Minds, this being the moderatest Season, so we had some pleasure afforded for the exercise of our Bodies, as Hunting the Wild Boar, which fatten themselves chiefly on Dates, and are therefore worth the Toil and Danger of Assailing; and for to secure the Flocks, it is no less meritorious to Chase the Wolf, for which, not only Bows and Arrows, Sword and Gun, but Spears, Pikes, and Dogs are called in to gain the Conquest; these are Martial Exploits; the Timerous Hare and Antilope require not all these Weapons, but only giving them the Law of the Field.

At *Genoe*[1] are wholsome Hot Baths, whose Fame made us pierce Twenty Mile nigher the high Mountains than *Asseen*, yet seeming to overshadow *Gombroon*; these Baths arise between the Promontories facing *India*, half a Mile out of the great Road to *Carmania*, out of several places in a deep Bottom rather than a Valley, and where they

[1] Kuh-i-Ginão, about 20 miles N. of Bandar 'Abbās. "Under Kuh-i-Ginao, the summer station of Bandar Abbas, there is a magnificent sulphur spring, which, welling from an orifice four feet in diameter, forms a stream thirty yards wide. Its temperature at the source is 113°, and its therapeutic qualities are highly appreciated" (Sykes, 270). Marco Polo (i, 110) speaks of the natural hot baths on the road from Hormos to Kerman, which "have excellent virtues: they cure the itch and several other diseases." For other references to this famous spring, see Hamilton, *New Account*, i, 95: Ives, *Voyage*, 199. It seems likely now to become a sanatorium for perspiring political and telegraph officials of Bushire. Sir T. H. Holdich, *The Indian Borderland*, 216.

have their source also: As they slide along they Line the Earth with a Mossy Slime tinctured with a yellow Sulphureous Green; under which are Stones of live Brimstone exhaling a nidorous Scent, stinking like that Water the Mariners call Bilge Water; their Taste was a Brackish Sweet, not Nitrous; to the sight they are Clear and Perspicuous, of a Citrine Colour (or like Lie well Boiled) from their Transparency, by the reflecting of the slimy Matter at the Bottom; for otherwise taken up in a Vessel not subject to be tainted by them, they are Diaphanous; Extracted by Fire there remains a Salt, both Vomiting and Purging, more violent than Vitriol or Antimony.

For as *Galen* Teaches, *Lib. Nat. fac. 2do.* Salt things Elaborated by immoderate Heat, are troublesome to the Stomach: They are not so hot as Boiling Water, but rather by the mildness of their Heat they cause Transpiration, that if you please to stay longer in them, Sweat may be raised to the highest degree: The most usual space of tarrying in them, is from Half an Hour to an Hour, and then betaking themselves to a Warm Bed, lie an Hour or Two longer well covered, or as the Spirits serve, which is repeated, Three, Seven, or Nine times; as if God delighted in an Odd Number, as may be observed in the Pool of *Bethesda*, or of *Naaman's* Washing in *Jordan*.

They are held good against all humoral Chronical Distempers, and Remedy inveterate Ulcers, Cleanse and Heal Old Sores, Ease Aches and Pains of the Limbs, Joints, and Membranes, for which they are much frequented: In places where they bubble up they cast a Spume of many Colours; which those troubled with Scabs, or Leprosy, take up as it spues out, and Anoint the part affected; which, they say, works Miracles.

If Silver be cast into it, or receive the Vapours, it looks like Copper; which Fumes Morning and Evening ascend

like the Steam from a Pot of Water seething over the Fire; the chief Spring seems to flow out of an hollow Rock in the Earth; which whether it be worn so of its self I know not, but that little Art is required to make it so, I am certain, for it is almost as deep as a Man's height, capable of receiving Six or Seven at a time; but the Sides are jagged and rough pieces of broken Rock, that it is always cautioned to have a care of breaking their Shins: From this Hole, or Well, a Square Cistern or Stone receives the Water, where those that are most Infirm are laid to Bathe; from hence it takes its rapid and pellucid Course directly through Two eminent Cataracts (unless some Whirl-pits playing on either side, swallow it on one side as fast as it rises on the foot of the adverse Mountain) into a Plain enriched with its pregnant Salt, and after a small Current it is distracted into several Rivulets by the Husbandman, losing both its Saltness and swift Stream.

On its Banks grow Palm-Trees, not so long liv'd as elsewhere, if by the decayed Trunks any guess may be made; Hounds-Tongue, Bulrushes, and Flags, rejoyce on the sides, and little Fishes live in them.

Nokada Biram[1], the *Dutch* Broker, and *Tockersey*[2], our *Banyan*, have Built to these natural Baths, each an handsome Hospital: That of the first is an open one, Built Square, Capped with Four round Tubilated Cupilo's about an huge one in the middle, with Two Rows of Pillars to support it. The later has made his more close, upheld by

[1] Nākhudā Bahrām, *nākhudā* meaning "the skipper or master of a native vessel" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 612).

[2] Perhaps Thākurjī, "honourable lord," a common name among the vāniyas or merchant class of W. India. In the correspondence of the time persons of this name are mentioned; but it is uncertain whether they are the same as this man. Sir T. Grantham (10 September 1684) writes from Gombroone Road: "Sennor Tockersy, your Broker, has put abroad [aboard] on the account of the Honble. Company fforty-two bales of Carmania wool" (Yule, *Hedges' Diary*, ii, 167). The "villanies and baseness of Tockersee" are described in a letter of 3 March 1661–2 (Forrest, *Home Papers*, i, 199).

Nine Pillars on the sides, and Four in the middle, with a stately Portuco at the Entrance, and a close Cell behind, commodious to Sweat in, besides a Stone Repository for Rain Water; they being both neat and durable Works.

Here presents a large scope of Discourse, which we will only touch upon, improving that little leisure afforded us before our Return, concerning these Natural Baths, and those Artificial ones every where in use among the *Eastern* People: As for the first Principles of things, though among the glistering Contentions of Philosophers there be many Opinions, yet we shall at present insist on the Four-fold one of the *Peripateticks*, nor can we from hence apprehend any of them Pure and Elementary, but as the Searchers into Natures Secrets have delivered it defined unto us.

Water therefore is a Cold and Moist Body, in which principally Fishes and other living Creatures Swim and have their Being and receive Nourishment: By how much Clearer and more Lympid it is, by so much it is the more agreeable to all Bodies. From whence the Approbation of *Hyppocrates*, *Aph.* 24. *Lib.* 5. the lightest Waters are soonest Hot, and as soon Cold; whence he concludes them the Clearest, and consequently the best; but since all Waters (except Rain-Water, which also is thence exhaled) are inclosed, or at least circumscribed by the Earth, they are subject to a perpetual agitation of Particles, in greater or lesser quantities, or in different places, as they flow through the several Caverns or Cavities, so they partake of several conditions in their passage; which distinguishes them, as Sea-Water, River-Water, Rain-Water, Spring-Water, Well-Water, Salt, Bitter, Vinous, or Warm Waters, deriving their Name ἀπὸ τῆς θέρμης, constantly arising Hot out of the Ground from the nearness of some Hot Minerals; and for this reason it is almost all of them have an Hot and Dry quality, whereby they help Moist and Cold Tempers

most of all; which Faculty *Platerus* attributes to the nature of Lime; which leans on the Sentence of *Aristotle*, who in his *Second Part*, *Chap.* 2. says, there is left in Lime a kind of Mother[1], Ἐμπύρευμα, *Adusta fere omnia habent aliquid caliditatis, ut calx, cinis, &c.* Almost all Burnt things have remaining in them something of Heat. But to let that pass as not being much to the purpose: All Waters, in general, participate of the Mixture and Nature of those Places through which they take their Current, though all do not alike strike the Senses, because some have a lesser Tincture than others; and Heterogeneous Particles confounded, or confused, in a larger Vehicle, are not so easily perceived by the Tongue; which proves no more than this, That whatever Water has a singular propriety from the common Water, must come under the denomination of Mineral Water.

Which, with *Varenius*, we draw from a threefold Fountain, *viz.* from Corporeal, Spiritual, and a Mixture of either; those which run through Subterranean Meanders, in which the Metalline Earths are not over dense, they carry with them the Grains of those Minerals, and therewith beget the first Corporeal Waters.

If the Ores are less dense, as Vitriol, Sulphur, and Salts, which dissolve of themselves in Water, these create the second Class of Corporeals, or Mixed.

And those in their passage which are impregnated with the Fumes of these Minerals, are, as it were, rectified Spiritual Waters, and make the most refined Order of them all.

Out of these Three proceed Mineral Waters, which are either Golden, Silver, Tin, Lead, or Iron, Waters; Waters of common Salt, Aluminous, Vitriolated, Bituminous,

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[1] Mother-liquor, ἐμπύρευμα=a coal to preserve a smouldering fire (Liddell and Scott, *Lex. s.v.*).

Sulphurious, or Antimonial: Waters of several Earths, Stones, Lime, Chalk, and Ochre, Cinnabar, Marle, Alabaster, and last of all, Mercurial Waters.

The differences are to be referred to the individual Species of every Water, as far as relates to their Essence; but because to inferior Capacities such do not so readily occur, they are made more familiar by Sower, Bitter, and the like: The Explanation whereof, both as to their Causes and Generation, is the Business in hand.

Sea-Waters, Salt or Bitter (Bitterness being only an exalted degree of Saltness) come rather from the Pores through which they are strained, than from the grosser Particles remaining after the heat of the Sun has Boiled off the Flegmy parts: Rain-Waters extracted by Rarefaction, are again Condensed, and become Sweet in their falling: River-Waters vary according to their Colour and Taste from the Qualities of those Conduits through which they take their Course, as do Spring-Waters, which have a double Origination; either from the Deep, or from Above; the one from the Ocean, the other from Snow or Rain; for by an obscure Conveyance, the Water of the Sea issues through the Bowels of the Earth, leaving both Salt and Bitter Taste behind, and forces it self in nature of a *Syphon* up to the highest Clifts, as is demonstrated by those Hydraulick Engines commonly known among us, supposing at the same time the Sea to equal the Tallest Peak the Land can brag of.

Sower Waters have for their Progenitors Vitriol and Alum, (not the Smoke of Sulphur) either of which are imbued with Acidity or Acerbity, whereas Sulphur enjoys neither; which is found true, however the Chymical Spirit of Sulphur drawn off, as also of Salt, become so sharp. But to obviate that, If Sowerness must be beholden to the Sulphurious Vapours, how comes it to pass that all Hot Baths have not that very Taste? Which both sufficient

Authority and Experience prove to have their Entity from these Two Causes.

1. By the Admixture of Sulphurious Effluviums, while the Water creeps through these Mines, for to break out of the Fountains from which they are strained.

2. From Fumes, Vapours, or Exhalations, within the Earth, where the Brimstone is Pure or Impure, as from Pit-Coals, Amber, *&c.*

But these Waters of *Genoe*, as far as I could gather by Spagyrical[1] Solutions, have to their Sulphur an Addition both of Antimony and Nitre, whence arise their sweet Salt, and fore-recited Operations.

Besides these Baths, which are rare, there are more commonly *Balneo's*[2] to be hired at easy Rates; of which I shall say no more than of the Benefits received by them (not to note the Injunction of their Law); when Bodies are parched by intolerable Heat, and the Dust galls and frets the Skin by Travel, then are they not only cleansed, but highly refreshed by bathing in sweet Water; so that they are convenient both in Dry and Moist Airs; for in Dry, without these they could no more breathe, than those *Aristotle* testifies of, could without Bags of Water on the Top of *Olympus*; and in Moist, they are as necessary to wash Dirt and Sand out of the Pores of their Bodies.

As for the Medical Intent, many Distempers caused by Fulness of Humours, or ill-bred Chyme, are expelled by this Exorcism; but the Grand Expectation relating to Venereal Diseases, is baffled and defeated by a groundless Fallacy.

On the Day of the Vernal *Equinox*, we returned to *Gombroon*, when the *Moors* introduce their New-Year *Æde*[3], or *Noe Rose*, with Banquetting and great Solemnity.

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[1] Chemical: the term is obsolete.

[2] In marginal note "Hummums," Ar. Pers. *hamām*, a "Turkish" bath.

[3] Ar. *'īd*: Pers. *nāwrūz*, the Persian New Year's day, that on which

The Air, which at *Spahaun* is so Serene that it leaves no Impurity upon Metals, is of another Temper here, all things contracting Soil and Tarnish, be they never so carefully preserved from the daily Increase of a thick corrupting Air. Which proceeds from the Reign of the *South* Wind usual at this Season, from whence the Brain and Nervous Offspring suffer under an unnatural Moisture[1]; κεφαλῆ ἕλκεα ἔχου; *Capiti aqua est perniciosa*, Hern. Paraph. in Part. Hyp. Aph. 22. Lib. 5. Sicut Aph. 5. lib. 5. The *South* Wind dulls the Hearing, and Quickness of Sight, brings Listlessness and an Unweildiness over the whole Body: To which Inconveniences, not only of the Wind, Sand, and eating of Dates, we may add the constant feeding upon Fish also, as an Enemy to the Eyes; for by such Food the Body is filled with putrid Humours, whence proceed Malignant Fevers, Gout, Falling-sickness, and an Iliad of Distempers. The reason to be rendred for all this, may be, Because the Strength of the Nerves consist in a Mediocrity of Heat; for what comes nearest to Heat, agrees better with their Constitution; but what brings

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the sun enters Aries. "The day of the *Vernal Equinox* is the first day of the year, which they call Neozonze [sic] and is one of their Principal Festivals. For that day all the Grandees appear at Court, and present the king according to their quality. If they can meet with nothing that is rare they present him in Ducats of Gold, and there are some that present him to the number of ten thousand. They also give God thanks for preserving them to see the new year, and for preserving the fruits of the earth from bad seasons, for the corn is by that time well come up. Upon the first day of the year, if a *Persian* has not money to buy him a new habit, he will go and mortgage his own body to have one. So proud and luxurious are the *Persians* from the highest to the lowest" (Tavernier, 241). The festival comes down from the very earliest times. Processions of subjects bearing presents probably at a celebration of the kind are depicted on the reliefs on the terrace at Persepolis (Curzon, ii, 161). The Great Kaan celebrated a similar feast, and in India it is found among the Mauryas and at the Mughal Court (Marco Polo, i, 390 ff.: Megasthenes, in Strabo, xv, 39: *Āīn*, i, 183, 276: Sir T. Roe, i, 142 f.). For the custom in modern Persia, see Malcolm, *H. of Persia*, ii, 341 *n.*, 404: Morier, *First Journey*, 205: Benjamin, *Persia*, 198: Wills, 48.

[1] For the suffocating S.E. wind on the shores of the Persian Gulf in March, see Morier, *Second Journey*, 43 f.

Moisture is most prejudicial, according to the Mind of the great Author of Physick, *Aph.* 16. *lib.* 5. Which notwithstanding, as every Nature is disposed, so it is affected with this or that Disease: For the Fountain of all Maladies, with their several kinds, spring either from the Irregularities of Air or of Diet, since we are nourished by both, and can no longer live than while we breathe and suck in Air, than we can subsist without Food: Such therefore as the Air is, such are the Spirits and Humours generated thereby; such as the Humours, such are the solid Parts of the Body, and in general the whole Microcosm.

By Repletion therefore of the Brain, the Optick Nerves are debilitated and clouded by the Impurity of the Innate and Adventitious Air: The beginning of the Nerves being filled with Humidity, not only the forementioned Sicknesses, but Ulcerous and Foul Sores, by the aptness of the Air at this Juncture combining with other concurring Accidents, make an open Way for their Procreation. Hence the Maritime Coasts, from the filthy Exhalations and nasty Vapours diffusing themselves, impress a Dyscrasy, or undue Mixture over the Mass of Blood: *To wit*; As if the Sulphurous Saline Particles should be exalted, a Rankness of Temperament follows; by which means the Spirits are depress'd, and the Blood alter'd into a sickly corroding Habit, for want of liberal Evacuation through the Emunctuaries, and so are quite degenerated. As we see, for instance, now daily, the Clouds hovering about the bottom of the Mountains, so the Humours profligated no other way, settle in the extreme Parts, till they break out into ungovernable Ulcers, Scurvy, and the like.

To avoid therefore the Stench of the Port, as well as Communication with the *Caun*, we often exchange *Gombroon* for *Asseen*, which now is perfumed with Jasmine of all sorts, Roses, Violets, and Primroses, with other fragrant Flowers;

here grow also the Black Horehound, Spurge, Catminth or Nepe[1], Liverwort[2], the lesser Centaury[3], Hedg-Mustard, Wintercress, Grunsel, Field-Poppy, Broom, Goosefoot[4], Arach[5], Cichory and Dill: The Barley growing here is now fit for the Scythe, being their first Harvest. In this Place as we rode to take the Air through Stony and Barren Places, we met a Channel of living Waters, brought from the Mountains (whence it breaks forth) by an Aquaduct, sometimes over little Bridges, sometimes piercing the very Mountains, at the Cost of the *Dutch Banyan* (the first of this Tribe of Men that deserves Praise for his Contempt of Money, lavished in many Places for the Publick Utility), to the *Dutch* Garden, where it disembogues its self into a great Stone Cistern, for the use of the Farms on that side of the Town.

All these Plains bear *Indian* Shrubs, such Milky ones as we have described there; but near the Head of the Channel, in an Hollow made by the falling of the Water in the Rains, grows Willow-wort; *Lysimachia*[6] *cum flore albo quinque foliis expanso è rubescente calice prognato floret*; which discovers a Participation or Communication of this side of *Persia* with *India:* But that which farther confirms it, is, that as in our Way home we made *Nabond*[7] our Road, a Fishing-Town a *Pharsang* to the *Eastward* of *Gombroon*, on the Brink of the Gulph, we found two

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[1] Catmint or Nep (*Nepeta cataria*).

[2] A name applied to various kinds of Hepaticae, having liver-shaped parts, or used in diseases of the liver (Watt, *Econ. Dict.* v, 85).

[3] *Centaurion minus*, *Erythraea centaureum.*

[4] A name applied to various plants resembling the foot of a goose, *Chenopodium* or *Aspalathus Chenopoda* (*New Eng. Dict. s.v.*).

[5] Orach, a plant of the genus *Atriplex*, N. O. *Chenopodiacea*, especially Garden Orach, or Mountain Spinach (*New Eng. Dict. s.v.*).

[6] See vol. i, 264.

[7] Nāoband, "new embankment," a short distance N.E. of Bandar 'Abbās: apparently the Nabandé of Dalbuquerque, *Comm.* i, 138: Danvers, i, 178.

Temples after the Custom of the Idolatrous *Indians*, where a Devote of theirs had drawn a great Concourse, at the Report of his Fasting Nine Days; which being ended, the rich *Banyans* made a Feast and Presented him with Gifts; for which he returned them an Ear of Grain spiked, in that time Sown before their Mammon, or God, with a Silver Head, which they bore away as a thing Sacred.

Here are many Tombs of their Religious Men, who are wholly devoted to their Superstitions; and because of the diversity of inhuming them, I shall give you the manner as I received it; A round Pit, in fashion of a Well, being made, they place a stone of *Ormus* Salt for him to stand on, and another weighty one is put on his Head; a Lamp being lighted, they lay Bread and a Jarr of Water by him, and give him a Staff in his Hand with some *Deneiros* for his Journy; then they cover the Hole with Molds, and build a Turbinated Tomb, without any Hollow more than for a burning Lamp[1].

Thus as this part bears the fruits of their Superstition, so the Earth brings forth the Weeds of their Idolatrous Worship; the *Arbor de Rais*[2] by the *Portugals*; by the *Banyans* Κατεξοκὴν, for the Reverence paid by them to it, the *Banyan*-Tree: Besides this, this Soil yields good Mango's, Water Melons, and Sweet Onions, with that rank Poyson *Dutry*[3], nighest our *Solanum Lethale.*

At our return from our Country Delights to *Gombroon*, we found it clear of the *Caun*, he being absent, otherwise no Grist was like to come to the *Shaw Bunder*; for during

[1] The custom of laying out food for the dead is common (Tylor, *Prim. Cult.*[2], i, 485, ii, 30). The burial of ascetics in salt is common among many of the Orders in India. *Deneiro* is Pers. *dīnār*, for the varying values of which, see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 317 f.

[2] Port. *arvore de ráiz*, "the tree of roots," the Banyan. See Pyrard de Laval, ii, 370: Linschoten, ii, 53: Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 65, with the quotation from Tavernier regarding the tree at Gombroon. The tree is mentioned in vol. i, 265.

[3] See vol. i, 92.

his stay no *Banyans* could be invited hither; but no sooner was he gone, than they came to their Stalls, as Sheep do after the fear of the Wolf is over, to their wonted Pasture.

About the beginning of *April* Fifteen Tall Ships, with Gallies of the *Portugals*, appeared in this Gulf to terrify the *Arabs*; and about the middle of the same Month, the same Ship that carried off the President, brought us a New Agent[1]; who being sickly, was willing to leave the Port with all expedition, to be at *Spahaun* before the Heats; which Journy commenced after an almost total Eclipse of the Moon, notified to us by the loud Musick and constant Hubbub continued all the while.

CHAP. IX.

We go up in the Spring with our New Agent to Ispahaun: *Two* Irish *Greyhounds sent for a Present to the Emperor: We leave the Agent there, and return in the Fall.*

WE set out the Last of *April*, and reached *Lhor*[2] the 8th of *May*, which City was vehemently warm; through which Intemperance, whatever we eat, turned into Choler; for the Air being Hot and Dry, in respect of that we left at *Gombroon*, rendred the Bile thicker and sharper, whereby most of us fell sick of *Cholera Morbus*; and Three of our Company were taken from their Horses, not being able to sit them, and carried on *Indian* Litters: Others in *Kedgways*[3], or Wooden-Houses, one on each side of a

[1] John Petit was appointed Agent in Persia, and is to sail in the *Return* for Gombroon (I. O. Records, O. C. 4341, 6th February 1678).

[2] Lār, see vol. ii, p. 290.

[3] Pers. *Kajāveh*, for which see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 140. "The *Kajaveh*, which is very small and rocks disagreeably, is a most uncomfortable and almost impossible vehicle for Europeans, whose nether limbs are not inured to the telescopic contraction common to the East. Adam Olearius, the secretary of the Embassy from the

Camel, tied like Panniers; by which Conveyance we carried two *Irish* Buckhounds for Presents to the Emperor, a Dog and a Bitch, as large as ever I saw; but they being cramped by this Contrivance, we were persuaded to let them loose, after we had conquered the Soultry Sandy Ways; but then it was as irksome to them to foot it over the Rocks and Stony Paths; for this, the Company had provided Shooes for them, which they found more troublesome than is reported of the Jackanapes's[1] caught by such Apishness; so that at last they were left to their Liberty: These are such Carriages as their Women travel in, and those Passengers that wander the Deserts of *Arabia*.

——*Queis tentant & arantes arenas*
Littoris Assyrii viatores.——[2]

Several new Caravans on this Road have been lately overturn'd by Earthquakes, and all along they cry for Rain, both to fill their Water-stores, and to bedew the Earth; which is most miserably parched till we come to *Bonaru*[3]; in whose Plain, Wheat and Barley are newly mow'd; but the Oyl-Seed for Lamps were standing. In the Thickets along the Brooks sides grew Bitter-Sweet,

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Duke of Holstein in 1637, graphically described his woes as follows: 'The Physician and myself were set in *ketzaweha* upon the same camel, whereby we were put to great inconveniences—one proceeding from the violent motion caused by the going of that Great Beast which at every step gave us a furious jolt; and the other from the insupportable stink of the camels, the infectious smell of whom came full into our noses'" (Curzon, i, 272 *n.*). The women, "When they follow the Camp or are to journey any whither they are mounted two and three upon Camells: and set crosse-legged in cages (or cajues as they call them) of wood, covered with cloth to forbid any body the sight of them" (Herbert, 229 f.). Also see Josafa Barbaro, 65. There is an illustration of such a camel-litter in Manucci, iv, 392.

[1] See vol. i, p. 40.

[2] *Utcumque mecum vos eritis, libens*
Insanientem navita Bosporum
Temptabo, et urentes harenas
Litoris Assyrii viator.
Horace, *Carm.* iii, iv, 29 ff.

[3] See vol. ii, p. 198.

and among the Corn such Weeds as choak ours in *England.*

Chawtalk[1] is become famous, not only for its new and spacious Caravan, but for an Exploit lately committed on the *Rhadars* or Watch by half a dozen Highwaymen, who had certain Intelligence of a Prize of some Merchants having a great Charge of Money: Wherefore they set upon the *Rhadars* as they were on Duty in the Caravan Gate, and beheaded their Captain, and the *Caravandar*[2], or Warden of the *Caravan Seraw*, and assaulted the rest unawares, slaying Eight more outright, but promised Mercy to the rest if they did not resist; Four more were wounded in making their Escape, and died of their Wounds, before they could gain *Gerom*[3].

Thus having secured their Prey, they carried it off in the sight of Four hundred Men, faint-hearted and timerous Companions, only one *Armenian* discharging a Gun; not one else, either Merchants or Cowardly Drovers, daring to make any Defence, but resigned themselves tamely to their Wills, while they rifled and took away above a Thousand *Thomands*, which amounts in our Coin to Four thousand Pound in Silver, and are hitherto undiscovered.

I cannot but reflect on this Faint-heartedness with some Astonishment: Only when I consider the Merchant is Insured by the *Shaw-bunder*, it abates something of the Wonder; for he must restore the whole Sum to the right Owner, it being his business to find out the Thieves, and recover the Money.

Hence we came to *Gerom*, and by labouring in the Heat of the Day to get over the Mountains, we were persecuted with Diary Fevers: In this Munsel we found

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[1] See vol. ii, 200.
[2] Pers. *Kārwāndār.*
[3] See vol. ii, 202.

Aven's Mother of Thime[1], *Mullen*[2], *Roman* Wormwood with a Scarlet Flower, divers sorts of Thistles, especially the Holy Thistle, a Remedy for the now raging Diseases; as I am of Opinion, Nature has provided all Regions with Medicines peculiar for their Distresses.

Coloquinta Apples[3] grow like a small round Gourd on the Ground.

Here in the Gardens were the first true Beans and Pease I saw since I left *England*.

The old *Caravan Ser Raw* at *Mocock Sugta*[4] is deserted by the *Caravan Dar*, who has shifted to a new one built by the same Hand as that lately at *Chawtalk*, and abandoned the declining one to Serpents, Chameleons, and Tarantulaes[5] (which are not so venomous as in the Straits), Centipedes, and Scorpions, it lying an open Receptacle for all Wild Beasts.

The *North* Winds about the middle of *May* raised many a Whirlwind; and before we came to *Caifar*[6], we found a sensible Alteration from scorching Heat to a searching Cold; by which Change, our Garments that before hung loose about us, are gathered together to wrap us close; for all which, few escaped without complaining of a sudden Pain in the Joints; and many were incident to putrid Fevers, who had indulged too largely on Raw Fruits.

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[1] Perhaps the *Thymus serpyllum* of Watt (*Econ. Dict.* vi, Pt IV, 48).

[2] Mullein, generally applied to various species of *verbascum* (*New Eng. Dict. s.v.*).

[3] The bitter apple (*citrullus colocynthis*), a cultivated gourd with bitter pulp (Watt, ii, 329 ff.).

[4] See vol. ii, 205.

[5] Persians call the Tarantula *roteyl* or *khāyēgaz*. "Its bite is generally said to be hardly less serious than that of the scorpion, but Ardashír assured me that people were seldom bitten by it, and that he had never known its wound prove fatal" (Browne, 354, 384). On the cure of the bite by a stone like the Indian snake-stone, see Schuyler, *Turkistan*, ii, 123. Manucci (iii, 196) describes the Indian method.

[6] See vol. ii, 206.

This sudden Mutation of the Air, brought not only on Mankind, but Beasts also, Catarrhs, and Defluctions of all sorts; to wit, from Hot and Moist (whereby we were bedew'd all over with Sweat) into Hot and Dry in the Day, and at Night Cold and Dry, by reason of Impetuous Blasts from the *North East*, by which the Pores being shut, the inclosed Humours are put into a Fluor; there being not a Man among us, nor hardly an Horse, but ran freely at the Nose: Here, as the Air varied, we left off drinking Rain-Water; which might have some Influence upon us, it being preferred before all others, as having the Sun and Ocean for its Parents: The River-Water here is muddy, and is often carried under Ground by Pits, wherefore it passes not, without leaving some Putrefaction behind; but the most indigested is Well-water, which is wholly deprived of the Sun.

Nor must we slip without Remark what happen'd in our Winter-March; as we there carried the Winter with us, so now we bring the Summer; for Harvest is beginning every where, where we arrive: Though here the Barley be mowing, yet the Wheat stands, to endure a farther ripening, being kept back by the Chill Winds, which still attend us; whereby we found Fevers of all sorts (except Pestilential) at *Siras*; Rheums distilling from the Head, Falling down of the *Uvula*, Aches and Pains, Hoarseness, and violent Coughs; as *Hypocrates* foretold from this Quarter, 5. *Aph. lib.* 3. *Si autem Aquilo terram perflat*; if the *North*-wind blows on the Earth (which it has done a long time) it brings Colds, Swelling of the Face, Sore Throats, difficulty of Breathing, Stitches, and Pleurisy; the Body is bound, and Urine flows, with cold shaking, which are constantly to be expected while this Wind rules.

The Water of this Place also contributes to the Endemial Distempers, for it is weightier than other, which by Experience is found to offend the lower Belly, or

Hypochondria, breeding Obstructions, and the Ills arising thence; nor can I excuse that destructive Custom of drinking Ice with their Liquors; which the Old Gentleman takes notice of to be of no good Consequence; *Aph.* 24. *lib.* 4. *Frigida, cujusmodi sunt Nix*; Cold things, such as Snow and Ice, are Enemies to the Stomach and Lungs; and so on: On which the Learned and Skilful *Heurnius* makes this Paraphrase, "Those People that use these, are "troubled with Swellings in their Throats (as on the *Alps*), "are afflicted with Catarrhs, and live not long." But the most pernicious of all is the cramming themselves with much Fruit; which is a Temptation hardly to be denied, where such Plenty and so Excellent are offered; however, they fill the Body with crude and rebellious Humours.

From all which therefore to come home to what concerns us, who had undergone some part of a *Southern* Winter (if it may be so called, at *Gombroon*), the Author of Salt Phlegm, the subsequent Spring entring with the *North* Winds, which are Dry, made us retain that Phlegm; by which means we are followed by pertinacious and continued Fevers, as well as those that accompany Catarrhs, from the Intemperament of the Spirable Parts, whereby the Humour expressed from the Brain, distills upon the Lungs, by translation of Evacuation from the Habit of the Body, where it was wont to perspire; but now those Channels being stopt, it drops from the Head, to the disturbance of the whole Frame. This Comment relates only to us; for the Natives make light of such things as we call Colds, though they are affected with them this Season, but not to so high a degree as we; for they eat and drink rather the more for them, and slight them at this time of the Year, but towards the Winter-Quarter they are more cautious. I must confess it was always my Opinion, Colds were not hurtful, so long as they keep within the Bounds of a simple Cold, but rather a means to rack off the Impurities from

the Blood, as the Fermentation of Wines is of the like Advantage to them; but when instead of clarifying it confounds the Humours, it is then to be taken care of, which daily Experience teaches it transgresses often; as almost all our *English* being now down, can witness.

The 29th of *May*, the Agent, weary of these uncertain Turns of Weather, proceeded to make Trial of more steddy at *Ispahaun*; but most of the rest being sick, and the Father Visitador[1] of the *Carmelites*, a *Spaniard*, and a good Scholar, having been long grieved with a continued Fever, and finding no Relief from the Country Physicians, persuaded the Agent to leave me at *Siras*, which he complied with, perceiving an urgent necessity on the part of the *English*.

In which Stay I fell sick my self, after the Father was recovered; and before I was got up (for this Sickness had well nigh cost me my Life, being one of these peevish Fevers), a great Saint, because Rich and one of *Mahomet*'s Kindred, prevailed with the Father, who he heard was restored to his Health by my means, and their Convent being seated here by his Permission (he being Treasurer of the Province, and as wealthy, though by unjust means, as any in the Empire, next the *Sophi*), to speak to me to give him a Visit, being laid up by Debaucheries both of Wine and Women.

The Respect I had to the *Padre*, made me yield to be carried to his Court in one of his *Palenkeens* or Chairs, at a time I was more fit to be kept at Home and in Bed; for that all the *Armenian* Christians, as well as Foreign, seemed to be concerned, not out of Love, but fear of this powerful Man to mischief them: Whereupon my Attendance is engaged, and a Million of Promises, could I restore

[1] Port. *visitador*, "visitor." The Dutch adopted the name for one of their officials, the Visitador General (Foster, *Letters*, ii, 165).

him to his Health, laid down from his Wives, Children, and Relations, who all (with the Citizens, as I could hear going along, pray to God that the *Hackin Fringi*[1], the *Frank* Doctor, might kill him) play'd the Hypocrites, wishing his Death; the first to compleat their Expectation of what he might leave them, the other for his being a Plague to them; as it proved after his Recovery, for they performed as much as he, dismissing me with a Compliment, and no other Reward.

After my Strength came again, though this Blade had provided for my Diversion at his Summer-houses, (which are built (as the enslaving Friars do on Penances their most stately Buildings) by his usurped Authority, of the Obligation they had to serve him, as *Mahomet*'s Kindred, and the meritorious Tye he had on their Consciences that way, by which means the Emperor has not more stately Palaces;) yet I refused his Offer.

Tarrying here from the 23d of *May* till the 6th of *July*, I am capable of giving some Account how the Air proves so fatal to Strangers: It seems to enjoy a Mean between *Lhor* and *Ispahaun*; not so hot as the former, nor so subtile as the latter; for which reason it would be generally more healthy, were it not for these *North*-Winds, which set in every Afternoon, and continue till the Sun is a good height next Morning: Insomuch that in the space of Twenty four Hours, there is a Turn from the highest degree of Heat into the extremest degree of Cold, which nfers the former Diseases (*ad Aph.* 1. *lib.* 3. Αι μεταβολαὶ τῶν ὡρέων, *&c.*) these last Three Months together mostly. After these are spent, the Heats bring Health, for no other reason but because they are constant; which lasts from *June* till *September*, when these Winds begin their Reign afresh; and according to the Observation of the 4th *Aph.*

[1] Pers. *Hakīm farangī.*

in the same Book, *In singulis anni partibus cum eodem die modo caloris modo frigoris dominatu Cœlum tenetur Autumnales morbos expectare oportet, hoc est, ἀ ὥμιλα κατάκτα:* Diseases are unequal for Matter, Symptoms, Invasions, Judgments, and Determinations; which I experienced to be true all this time, both in respect of Judgment and Ill Habit; for if it happen'd to be a Tertian, Quotidian, or Quartan, they were all uncertain; the uncertainty of the Season broke that Vicissitude of Motion and Rest belonging to the Humours, which interruption occasioned the difficulty of their Cure.

And now taking the direct Road for *Spahaun*, I had joined with me an *Armenian Frenchman* (a Wealthy Trader), a *Dominican* and a *Carmelite* Friar. Early in the Morning of the following Day we had forsaken *Siras*, we made *Polygore*[1], Six *Pharsangs*; it is a famous Caravan without Entertainment, by reason of bad Water; wherefore at Night we reached *Aubgurrum*[2], an old *Caravan Ser Raw*, better provided with Water, though the Name of the Place would intimate nothing less, being called the *Hot Water*; this is Three *Pharsangs* beyond *Polygore*.

Hence we entred a Fenny kind of Ground, occasioned by the Overflow of *Bindamire*; over which, Stone Causeways and Bridges were laid, where convenient, for half a *Pharsang:* In this Way, though we met not with Towns so frequently, yet we found the Plain overspread with Husbandmen and Shepherds, dwelling in Tents made of Hair-Cloth[3], at the End of the Plain of *Persepolis*, which we could discover plainly with our naked Eyes, but came

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[1] This place has not been certainly traced. Prof. Browne suggests Pul-i-gor, perhaps meaning "bridge of the wild ass." There is a place marked on the Indian Government map called Pul-i-gurg (? "Wolf-bridge") about 17 miles N. of Shīrāz as the crow flies.

[2] Āb-i-garm, the "hot springs," not found in any map.

[3] Perhaps camps of the Iliats, or migratory tribes, for whom see Curzon ii, 112 ff.

not near it, cutting a shorter Way to *Maijm*[1], over a Bridge almost consumed with Age, and Force of the Waters; at which Town, after sufficient Thunder and Lightning, it shower'd apace. The Harvest is backwarder in these Fruitful Valleys than whence we came from; but these kindly Rains plump and chear it for an hopeful Crop.

Two Days after, we took *Imaum Zadah*[2] in our Course, where *Mastick* is made[3]; the Mountains hereabouts are productive of Wines. *Imaum Zadah* was another of their adored Prophets or Successors to *Mortis Ally*[4], who lies buried here in a Neat Stone Sepulchre; all the Town therefore belongs to the *Mullahs* or Priests attending here, and is surrounded with a Wall, having only Admission at one Gate.

In the Medows between *Ogoan*[5] and *Asspass*[6], we met with two Troops of stroling Shepherds, moving with their Families, Flocks, Herds, and Substance, with their Hairy Houses on their Camels Backs. As also huge Droves of Horses for the Emperor's Breed: But the most surprizing was to see Corn mowing and newly sprung up at one and the same time.

Arriving at *Cuscusar*[7] as soon as it was Day, and having laid my self to Repose, a Courier, or *Goloomy Shaw*[8], from the Emperor, waiting the coming in of our *Caphala*, to

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[1] See vol. ii, 228.

[2] Pers. *Imāmzādeh*, "priests' son," a common term for the tomb of a holy man (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 692). "Iman-shade...from the name of one of the Prophets that is buried there, and gave the Mountain its name, being all cover'd with bitter Almond-trees" (Tavernier, 246). "Although in general the tombs of all their *Imam Zadehs* are looked upon as sanctuaries, yet there are some accounted more holy than others" (Morier, *Second Journey*, 166).

[3] "Others commonly chew Mastick, particularly in Persia, where they call it Mastaguy [*maṣṭakā*], and with it scent the water they drink" (Stevens, *H. of Persia*, 20). For the mastick tree (*Pistachia lentiscus*) see Watt, *Econ. Dict.* vi, Pt I, 270.

[4] See vol. i, 93.

[5] See vol. ii, 229.

[6] See vol. ii, 231.

[7] See vol. ii, 232.

[8] See vol. ii, 166.

press the best Horse he could lay his Hands on, seeing my Sumpture-horse come in, seized it for the King's Use; which alarmed the whole *Caravan Ser Raw*, desiring my Servant to wake me, and inform me I was in danger to lose my Horse, and withal beseeched my Protection for theirs, some of them being high priz'd: The thing was new to me, nor did I understand till then my Authority; for none of them durst oppose a *Chuper*[1] or Horse-Post sent from the King on an Errand (which Privilege is granted only to *Europe* Nations), they being wholly at the Devotion of their Sovereign, (Foreign Ministers with their Retinues being exempted); but seeing me refractory to his Proceedings, he came to me full-mouth'd in the King's Name; I returned Answer, in that Name I refused to obey him: He persisting in his Demands after it was made known who I was, the Servants and People there were ready to beat him, had I encouraged them; I bad them only hinder him from taking any manner of Beast belonging to them, and do no manner of Violence to him. He finding no good to be done with me, began to terrify the *Caphala Bashee*[2] and his Crew; but I undertaking their Quarrel, he departed, not without some bouncing Curses in the *Turkish* Language, finding himself defeated of his expectation, and was content to make the Villages find him one; which indeed he should have done at first, had he not hoped to have been brought off by their mollifying him with Gilt; but missing that End, he went away with Shame and Fury, while I staid gratulated with the Thanks of all the Travellers, and on the 19th of *July* was handsomly conducted by them into *Spahaun*.

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[1] Pers. *chāpār*. There are "two practicable modes of travel in this country, *viz.* riding *Chapar*, *i.e.*, by Government post; or riding both his own animal and appointments by caravan" (Curzon, i, 30 ff.: Wills, 259 f.).

[2] *Qāfilah-bāshī*, "head of the caravan."

For the defect of Rain-water this Year, this Woody City suffers, the Trees decay, the River is dried up, Corn is scarce, and a general Drought invades all things, so that a Famine is mightily dreaded: For to supply these Wants, Well-water is made use of; which not being so familiar, by its deadly Coldness defrauds both Men, Brutes, and Plants, of their Natural Nourishment; whereupon Diseases ensue.

Nor is the winding Quarter of the Year less contributing, the Raging Dog having not only shewed his Teeth, but bit hard, the latter part of *August* passing into *Autumn* with unsteady Heats and Colds; introducing sore Eyes, Lasks, spitting of Blood, dejected Appetite, ill Concoction, Fistulaes *in Ano*, Leprosy, St. *Anthony*'s Fire, creeping Ulcers, Tetters, Morphew[1]. Last Years Honour is not paid to this, for the Trees every where shed their imperfect Leaves, not bringing their Fruit in due season; so that the Autumnal Tribute falls short, the Summer going out without bringing things to Maturity, by reason of the too hasty approach of the blustring Fall; though the Skies clear up to a Misfortune, whereby ξηροφθαμία, from the Summers Heat, and dry Autumns, Dysuries and Stranguries among Children, *Hyp. Aph.* 4. *Sect.* 3. as also Empyemaes.

This notwithstanding, we are tempted at the Fame of one of the Emperor's Gardens, called *Heste Behest*[2], i.e. *Paradise upon Earth*, in Imitation of *Cosroes*, their former King, to make a pleasant Pilgrimage: It is a sweet Place

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[1] Med. Lat. *morphea*, "a leprous or scurfy eruption" (*New Eng. Dict. s.v.*).

[2] Pers. *hasht-bihisht*, "the eight paradises." "The palace in the Persian language is called Astibisti, which, in our tongue, signifies 'eight parts,' as it has eight divisions" (*Travels of Venetians in Persia*, 173 f.). "Monsr. Varine accompanied me to see ye Pallace built by this King of Persia, Sha Soliman, called Hesti-be-hest" (Hedges, *Diary*, i, 212). The name, like Chehel Sitūn, indicates size and splendour, and was given to the palace by Shāh Sulaimān, about 1670, when he built his palace in a garden previously known as Bāgh-i-bulbul, "garden of the nightingale" (Curzon, ii, 36 ff.: Browne, 200: Morier, *First Journey*, 163).

doubtless, were it cloathed with its Glory; but as it is, it is a Rich Piece; the Summer-house in the middle is saluted by two Channels, in which are Ships and Boats to represent a Naval Scene of War; Swans and Pelicans find here their diversion; the Summer-house is built entirely of polished Marble, the Arch of the *Cupilo* is Inlaid with Massy Gold; upon the Walls are depainted the famous Actions of their Heroes; the Tank in the middle is all of Silver, the Posts are stuck with Looking-glasses, reflecting the Postures of the Body, and the Figures of the whole Fabrick; an Hemispherical Turret presses on Four Pillars, which are the main Supporters.

For all this Excess the Poor do murmur, who have not any Care taken for their Subsistence; and not only the Inferior Rank, but the *Patricii*, begin to exclaim against the Negligence of the Government, while those who should provide for them in this Exigency, (from Provinces blessed with more Increase) instead thereof squander or sell abroad what should be applied to their Maintenance at home. In these Straits they find Pretences to cast an Odium on the *Divan*[1] or Council; and to that purpose have recriminated the Chief Favourite at Court, laying to his Charge not only the Miscarriage of his Master, but the effeminating and debauching him with Wine and Women, and enervating him by Witchcraft, (he being neither able to Stand or Ride); and for Proof of this latter, they had taken from his Surcoat a Paper wrote in the *Hebrew* Tongue, full of Magick: Which whether true or false, half a dozen *Jewish Levites*, accused as Accessories, were ripped open[2]; but not confessing in their bitterest Torments, any thing against the Steward of the King's Houshold, he was again received into Grace, and intrusted with the Management of Affairs;

[1] Pers. *dīwān*, for the many meanings of which, see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 309 f.

[2] See vol. ii, 326.

they having no Redress by this Complaint, but rather a Continuation of their Miseries, a sad Cry for Want of Bread continuing.

Although the Emperor espoused this Great Man's Cause, at once to assert his own Authority, and skreen him from the Fury of his Persecutors; yet another Menial Servant in Disgrace never recovered, till he had given full Satisfaction to his Revenge; *viz.* his Chief Physician: He being dismiss'd the Court, lived in Repute some time in the City, till the Emperor discarded his Chamberlain; when being informed that this imprudent Physician was entertaining at a Feast the Eunuch he had turned out of his Service, sent a Messenger to call his Physician; who supposing it was to be readmitted, spruc'd himself, that he might be the better accepted before the King, and went on chearfully, till coming under the Palace-Gate he saw a Rope prepared to tye him up; which was the Reward he received for his Unadvisedness.

Amidst these Distractions and Heats, it was no time for our Agent to move for an Audience; and the Time of Shipping drawing on, it was convenient some should appear at Port; whereupon I am again commanded to *Gombroon*, the Agent staying for the Benefit of the Air, as well as to watch a Time to appear before the *Sophi*; which was a thing of great Difficulty and Expence to the Company, by reason of the several Officers of different Interests, employed as Instruments to procure it, besides the little Leisure the Emperor affords himself for Business; it seldom costing less than a Thousand *Thomands* in Fees and Presents. The *Irish* Buckhounds brought up for that end, were admired and talked of by all, and represented to be as big as Camels; and though they were young, proved swift Creatures, I seeing the Bitch in our Journey turn an Antelope, which none of their Hounds ever came near; and had the Dog been yare, no doubt but they had seized it.

The Rarity of them is a thing of Moment for the Emperor's Delight; nor may we be less assured of the Terror they strike on their Fancy, when I shall relate what passed at *Mussaferry*[1] in the *Caravan Ser Raw* there, as they were bringing up to *Spahan:* The Dog, which was the biggest, and at other times less voracious, and better conditioned than the Bitch, being let loose, rambled about the Caravan for what he could get to satisfy his Hunger; whilst an *Hodge*[2] (one of their Pilgrims to *Mahomet*'s Tomb) who was at his Devotion on the most conspicuous place of the *Ser Raw* (they loving to be seen of Men), had placed a Bowl of Buttermilk tempered for his Tooth, ready by him, to fall to after his Prayers; he bowing his Face to the Ground, as their Custom is to worship, and there lying prostrate: The Dog scenting the Bowl, mounted the Quadrangle, and clapping one Leg on the Neck of the *Hodge*, kept him in that Posture, while he had made cleaner Work than the Pilgrim, who for fear durst neither stir nor cry out, lest he should provoke so terrible a Monster to devour him; but silently passed by both the Affront (for if a Dog touch them they are *Nigess*[3], *i. e.* defiled) and the Loss; while in the mean time it was occasion of much Laughter to the whole *Caravan Ser Raw*, to behold the Man of lofty Thoughts of his own Purity, thus handled by the Beast, and none offering to step in to his Rescue, till we had called him off; for which the *Hodge* thought himself obliged to return us Thanks, for delivering him from so great danger.

At *Moxutebeggy*[4], as we were returning to *Gombroon*, we met with one of the Robbers (or one apprehended as one of them) that so boldly set upon the Caravan at *Chawtalk*[5],

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[1] See vol. ii, 208.

[2] Pers. *hājī*, *hājj*, one who has done the pilgrimage (*hajj*) to Mecca.

[3] See vol. i, 236. [4] See vol. i, 234. [5] See vol. ii, 200.

being under a Guard of Soldiers, pinion'd, and loaded with Chains: He is a long-hair'd Black, of the Province of *Ketchemacroon*[1], formerly *Hyrcania*, lately reduced by the Valour of the now-imprison'd *Caun* of *Siras:* They are carrying him to *Ispahaun*, to receive his Sentence and Judgment from the Emperor; it being an Enterprize of that Fame, and so much in every one's Mouth, that the Punishment is to be as Exemplary, as the Fact Notorious. Some people more than whisper, as if the necessitous *Caun* of *Bunder* were not only an Abettor, but an Accomplice in this Villany: But a Man had as good be out of the World, as lye under the Scandal of an Ill Name.

In this Passage the Evenings and Mornings were so intensely Cold, as to fix Icicles to our Metarrhaes[2], as they hung under our Horses Belly; although from Nine in the Forenoon until Three in the Afternoon, it was extremely Hot.

When we left *Spahaun*, Cotton had just broke the Cod, and an imperfect sort of Barley, sown only to soil their Cattel, was crept out of the Hose, being as Green as Grass; but as we drew nearer *Siras*, all was mowed, and the Vintage being over, they were left common to the Cattel, who fatten on these Shrubs; so that what once tickled the Spleen of a Philosopher, might here hourly give him the Diversion, Thistles being their choicest Fodder.

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[1] Prof. Browne regards the true form of this name (Ketcher-Macroon in Fryer's Index) to be Kūch-ū-Makrān, the first part being the title of a tribe. Marco Polo calls it Kesmacoran, which represents the Kij-Makrān of Ibn Batuta, Sidi 'Ali, Sharifuddin, the Sindian tale of Sassi and Pannūn, P. della Valle, and Sir F. Goldsmid (ii, 402). Curzon (ii, 261 *n.*) says that Makrān cannot be derived from *mahī-khorān*, ichthiophagi, the title given by Arrian to the inhabitants of the Baloch coast. He regards it as a Dravidian word, appearing as Makara in the Bṛihat Sanhita of Varāha Mihira in a list of tribes contiguous to India on the west.

[2] See vol. i, 335.

The Forerunners of the approaching Cold are the *Colums*[1], who fly in Flocks daily over our heads; these, impatient of the Extremity of Heat or Cold, take now their Flight towards the Warm Countries, and when the Ram ends his Reign, return to their *Northern* Quarters. *Bartholin* Junior relates something of the Swan, agreeable to what I observed in *India* of this Bird, concerning the *Aspera Arteria*, from whence is conceived the reason of its obstreperous and loud Note: His Words are these, *Diversum tamen esse situm in Cygno & plane singularem; longior enim cum sit, in sterni capsulam incurvo flexu se insinuat, moxque ex fundo capsulæ sursum regreditur & claviculis ascensis ad thoracem se flectit*, &c. *De fistula pulmonari verba faciens.* It's of a different Make from other Fowls, and is wound up, as has been said, in the Breast-bone as in a Case, sometimes single, sometimes double, like a writhen Trumpet[2]; they have long Necks, and long Feet, of an Ash-Colour, and great Bodies as large as a Wild Turky; their Flesh but coarse.

The latter end of *October* we departed from *Siras*, not before my Customer the *Siad*[3] had sent for me, to desire those Medicines wherewith he had been so unexpectedly recovered: I delay'd going to him till I was certain the *Caphala* was out of the City, when waiting on him I reaped the same fair Promises and Expressions I had done before; wherefore I told him my Physick was packed up, and my Servant gone with the *Caphala*; he told me he would send a Couple of his trustiest Domesticks, which were a Priest

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[1] The great grey crane (*Grus cinerea*) (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 249).

[2] "The crane's power of uttering the sonorous and trumpet-like note is commonly and perhaps correctly ascribed to the formation of its trachea, which on quitting the lower end of the neck passes backwards between the branches of the furcula, and is received into the hollow space formed by the bony walls of the carina or heel of the sternum. Herein it makes three turns, and then runs upwards and backwards to the lungs" (*Ency. Brit.*[9] vi, 546).

[3] The Sayyid customs official.

and another, to the end of the *Munsel*[1], which I told him he might do: At my Return to the Factory, there being present a Number of Christians and others to attend our Motion out of the City, most thought I had received a Rich Reward, therefore they demanded how I had sped? I answered, As I had before; at which one that knew the Temper of the Man, replied in *Linguo Frank, Foi multo ben ill non tenho terardo voso Chapeo*; It was very well you came home with your Hat, and that he took not that off your Head: However, at the end of the *Munsel* I was not at Leisure to speak with his Messengers, who understanding the reason, had Ingenuity enough to blush at their Master's unhandsome dealing with me.

This Varlet, of the Race of *Mahomet*, two or three days before our Arrival at *Siras*, at the Funeral of one of his Wives, sent Fifteen hundred of his own She-Slaves to attend her to the Grave, out of his own Family; so superfluously abounding is he in all manner of Luxury.

We came into *Siras* with frowning Weather:

Horrida tempestas Cœlum contraxit & imbres[2].

But parted thence with a suitable Remainder of Autumn; for the Grapes were in the Press, and the new Wines in the Ferment, yet the Pomgranats were on the Trees, nor was the Fall of the Leaf set in: In the Fields were Millet, hurtful to Pullen, but Food for the Poor for Bread; in the Garden, Wall-Flower, and Violets, Garden Mallows, and Crocus: For all that, at Night the Cold was severe; the reason whereof (besides the length of the Nights) is, the Mountains about *Siras* are rather Stony than Sulphurious; for which cause we find the Winds blow as sensibly as at *Spahaun*; whence may be collected, that the Seasons depend not so immediately on the Sun and its Motion, as

[1] See vol. ii, 180.

[2] Horace, *Epod.* xiii, 1.

from the Specifick Determination of the Winds, the Aspects of the Stars diversified, the Innate Quality of the Country, and peculiar Site in respect of the Heavenly Bodies. As for the difference of Stars, none here could be observed, distinct from those in the Temperate Zone, by reason of the indeterminate Horizon, every where occasioned by the interfering Mountains.

The Crows here are like our *Royston* Crows, Grey on their Backs and Wings; at *Jerom* their Beaks and Feet are as Red as Vermilion; where also at our appearance Barley is ripe, and new Barley sow'd; and as we travelled, we now and then let fly an Hawk at *Hoberaes*[1], a Bird larger and of the same Colour with our Kites; at first being brought to the Ground by the Hawk, it parries, and makes some false Shew of Defence, brisking up its Plumes about the Neck, as a Cock does when going to engage; but the Controversy is soon decided, after the Hawk seizes it with his direful Talons, and instead of denouncing farther War, it resigns its self an humble Victim to the Conqueror: The inward Coats of the Gizzard are stuffed with Wormseed, of which it smells strong, which dried and beaten to Powder, and given with Sugar, is a *Panacæa* for an *Asthma*, or difficulty of breathing, and the whole Body is delicate Meat.

On the right hand of the King's Highway, between *Siras* and *Gerom*, at *Derab*[2], on the side of a Mountain, issues the *Pissasphaltum* of *Dioscorides*, or Natural Mummy,

[1] Pers. *hubārah*, the bustard (*Houbara macqueeni*).

[2] Dārābjerd. "A variety of bitumen known as *mumiāī* [Pers. *mom*, 'wax'] which is collected by exudation from rocks near Behbehan, and at Darab. It has long enjoyed a great celebrity in Persia, being credited with wonderful therapeutic properties, particularly when applied to broken limbs. Chardin (*Voyages*, ed. Langles, iii, 311 f.), Kaempfer (*Amoenitates Exoticae*, 516–24), Le Brun (*Travels*, cap. clv), and the old travellers in general, give long descriptions of its character and efficacy, usually denoting it a precious drug or gem, and being apparently very much puzzled as to its origin. After being collected, it is made up into hard, cylindrical rolls, and is

into a large Stone Tank or Storehouse, sealed with the King's Seal, and that of the *Calentures*, and all the Noblemen of that City, and kept with a constant Watch, till at a stated Time of the Year they all repair thither, to open it for the King's Use, to prevent its being stole: Which notwithstanding, though it be Death if discovered, yet many Shepherds following their Flocks on these Mountains, by chance light on great Portions of the same Balsam, and offer it to Passengers to Sale, and sometimes play the Cheat in adulterating it.

The First of *November* entring upon the Plains of *Dedumbah*[1], we found it all frosted with Salt; for the Waters from the Mountains mixing with the Superficies of the Earth, together with the Sun and drying Winds, incrustate; nor have I met with sharper Colds than here, for that the invironing Hills as well as Dales are full of Salt, and the Sun rising with horrid Winds presses the Ambient Air from the high Tops by its Circular Motion;

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packed for transmission in gold and silver paper" (Curzon, ii, 521). "From the Top of a Mountain, in the same Province of *Sthabanon*, and the Clefts of a Rock, issues a Sort of liquor, which the King of *Persia* appoints Persons of Reputation to secure, and the whole Quantity gather'd in a Year amounts to about Thirty *Meticales*, little more or less, which is about Five Ounces. The *Persians* call it *Momnahy Khony*, that is precious Mummy produc'd by the Earth, which is wholly preserv'd for the King; and they say that it is an almost miraculous Antidote against all sorts of Poison, and for healing up all inward Ruptures, and even Fractures of Limbs. The King of *Persia* makes presents of very small Quantities of it, yet highly valu'd to the Princes he is in Amity with. Therefore the *Persians* say their Kings enjoy Health, by means of this *Momnahy Kony*, and the *Turks* with their *Terra Sigillata*" (Stevens, *H. of Persia*, 152 f.). For further references to the virtues of mumiāī, see Crooke, *Popular Religion*, ii, 176 ff.: Goldsmid, 589: Manucci, i, 55: Vigne, 64, Ives, *Voyage*, 217: *Journal Anthropological Society Bombay*, i, 154 ff.: Burton, *Pilgrimage*, ii, 344.

[1] Prof. Browne writes: "Our Persian teacher at Cambridge, Shaykh Ḥasan of Tabrīz, has found Dih-Dunba in the *Fārs-nāma-ī-Nāsirī*, or *Gazetteer of the Province of Fārs* (Tihrān A.H. 1313), with which the work concludes. No information about it is given, save that it belongs to the Bahūk or district of Bīd-Shahr, or Dashtistān, near Bushire (Abu Shahr)."

so that it hurricanes us with such dismal chilling Gusts, that had we not been active here in coursing Hares and Wild Goats, we might sooner have frozen than kept our Innate Heat entire; the Sun being constantly attended all the Day with blustering Weather, leaving a quiet Calm at setting.

From this Plain to *Lhor*, both in the Highways, and on the high Mountains, were frequent Monuments of Thieves immured in Terror of others who might commit the like Offence; they having literally a Stone-Doublet, whereas we say metaphorically, when any is in Prison, *He has a Stone Doublet on*[1]; for these are plastered up, all but their Heads, in a round Stone Tomb, which are left out, not out of Kindness, but to expose them to the Injury of the Weather, and Assaults of the Birds of Prey, who wreak their Rapin with as little Remorse, as they did devour their Fellow-Subjects.

Beyond *Lhor*, Water-Fowl that make not their Abode on the Sea, are seldom seen, for want of Fresh-Water; nor do *Hoberaes* fly on the other side so far as *Siras*; whether for the sake of its beloved Food, or by reason the Subtilty of the Air may fail them in their due Poise, making them delight more in one place than another, I know not; as it is evident in the Nature of Fishes to prefer one Water before another, as being better fitted for their freer Respiration.

We set out of *Spahaun* the first day of their great Fast[2], which was the 8th of *October*, all which time it was

[1] The custom of immuring criminals still prevails. "We left Shíráz by the gate of the slaughter-house, somewhat appropriately so named, as it seemed to me; for just outside it, on either side of the road, was a double series of pillars of mortar, ten or twelve in number, each of which had formed the living tomb of an outlaw" (Browne, 274). Wills (203, 269) tells of eleven highwaymen walled up alive at Shīrāz. Stack (i, 48, 77, 269) saw many pillars of the same kind. The *New Eng. Dict.* quotes from B.E. *Dict. Cant. Crew*, "*Iron-doublet*, a Prison."

[2] The Ramazān fast "must be kept by every Muslim, except the

grievous to the *Moors* to Travel, because they might not eat, nor swallow their Spittle in the Day-time, it being denied the Muliteers, and those accustomed to Labour; but the *Hodges*, and those who lead a delicate Life, are permitted to eat; for which they plead their being unaccustomed to Labour; which exempts them from an Imposition they lay on the more hardy, not touching such heavy Burthens with the least of their Fingers: Wherefore the poor Mule-men made hard shift to get to *Lhor* the Morning before the Evening the New Moon appeared on, *viz.* the 4th of *November*, when I saw the Old Moon go out on the Hills at *Lhor*, and the Night following, the Horns reversed, the whole Body or Circumference having only as it were a dark Veil or Curtain of Air drawn over it, that part alone which was Crescent, being illuminated.

But it was some Damp to their designed Mirth, when by too much haste to come to this Capital City, they perceived they had lost a Mule with its Lading, by driving in the Dark all Night; whereupon I was employ'd to inform the *Caun*, who immediately dispatched the *Rhadary* in quest, and before Night restored the Lading, which was Shagreen Leather, such as they make their best Boots of, but the Mule was found dead under its Burthen, strayed a little way out of the Road; such Care is there taken to satisfy Merchants.

This Night passed with great Rejoicing among the *Musselmen*, and retarded us three Days, before we could make our Muliteers settle to their Gears again.

Here the doubtful Autumn inclines towards Winter, resigning the Dates, Citrons, Oranges, and Lemons, to the

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sick, the infirm, and pregnant women, or women who are nursing their children. Young children, who have not reached the age of puberty, are exempt, and also travellers on a journey of more than three days. In the case of a sick person or traveller, the month's fast must be kept as soon as they are able to perform it. This act is called *Qazā'* or expiation" (Hughes, *Dict. of Islam*, 534).

expecting Planter: Here grows the Emblem of Peace, the Olive-Tree; and though the Leafs are fallen, yet here is an uninterrupted Spring, all things keeping a perpetual Green, though they observe the appointed Times of bringing forth their Increase.

And now we begin to enjoy Temperate and Shorter Nights, in exchange of Cold and Longer; and although the Goat is not yet ascended with his Constellation, yet I pronounce it Winter, since all Terrestrial Things move with a Pace as if they were just almost at the Centre of the Year; but after the Sun, carried by the rapid Course of the Heavenly Impulse, in order with the other Glorious Stars, has reached its utmost *Southern* Bounds, then a new Face of things returns, and the alternate Accretion and Diminution render an Everlasting Constancy; which with the admirable Frame and manifold Courses of the Celestial Spheres, witness and declare, That the Praise of so great and wonderful Works, are not to be attributed to Chance and Fortune, but to an All-wise Creator, who constituted the Universe from the Beginning, and will govern and preserve the same to all Eternity; who also brought us safe to *Gombroon* the 13th of *November: To whom be Honour now and for ever.*

CHAP. X.

A Voyage to Congo *for Pearl*; *a Discourse of their Generation*; *Departure from* Persia, *and Return to* India.

TWO days after our Arrival at *Gombroon*, I went to *Congo*[1], leaving only the *George*, a Ship our Agent had built, in this Port; I was rowed in one of their Boats till the Wind grew strong enough to Sail: These Boats

[1] See vol. ii, 191.

have been in use time out of mind; the Keel is made of one piece of Timber, and the Planks are sewed together, with an high Prow and a low Poop[1]. The next Morning we had brought *Loft*[2] on the left hand of the Island *Kismash*, leaving a Woody Island uninhabited between *Kismash* and the Main: At Noon we came to *Bassatu*[3], an old ruined Town of the *Portugals*, fronting *Congo*, where we touched till the Turning of the Tide and the Sea-Breeze were forcible enough to deliver us to that Port, where were Five Merchant Ships, and Two Trading to *Mocha* for Religion.

Congo is something better built than *Gombroon*, and has some small Advantage of the Air, and is about Twenty Leagues nearer the Mouth of the River *Euphrates*.

As upon Land we have observed the Fruit and all things flag for want of Rain, so we found the same Cry to respect the Sea for want of frequent Showers, the Oysters neither bringing forth, nor are any Pearls produced; such Influence does common Fame allow the Heavenly Moisture to have in their Generation; insomuch that little Choice is to be had, and whatever is of any Value, is very dear. Here is great Plenty of what they call *Ketchery*[4], a Mixture of all together, or Refuse of Rough, Yellow, and Unequal, which they sell by Bushels to the *Russians*, who carry them over Land to *Archangelo*, and disperse them through the

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[1] Boats of this kind are still often seen in the harbour of Bombay.

[2] Laft, a fortified village or town; now a small place, the residence of the chief Shaikh of the island; lat. 26° 53 N.; long. 55° 51′ 10″ E. See *Selections from Bombay Records*, No. xxiv, N.S. (1856), p. 606.

[3] Basidu, called by the English sailor Bassadore, known to the Arabs as Jazīrat-al-tawīlah, "Long Island," at the N.W. extremity of Kishm: headquarters of the Indian Naval Squadron, garrisoned by the Marine Battalion from Bombay till 1879. They were withdrawn on account of fever and the diminishing need of their services: now only a coal-depôt and port of the agent of the Bombay Government (Curzon ii, 412: Goldsmid, 154 f.).

[4] *Khichrī*, the well-known Indian dish: used here for a mixture of things of various kinds (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 476).

Northern Coasts, for Ornaments to their Furr Caps; which being no Purchase, I returned.

Sailing abreast of *Kismash*, I put in at *Loft*, the chief Place of the Island, and loaded with Oysters, which were the nearest our *English* I had yet tasted; here are Creyfish, Crabs, Shrimps, Place, Soles, and Smelts, besides Mountains of Salt-fish for Sale: From hence *Gombroon* is furnished with Wood; where arriving, we saw the *Phœnix*, another *English* Ship; on which before I embark, I shall premise somewhat material, according to my Promise, of Pearls in general.

The Pearl is a Jewel supposed to be the Geniture of a Shell-fish called *Margaritifer*, congealed into a very fair, transparent, Diaphanous, beautiful Stone, which is the *Partus* or Birth of this Fish. As concerning their Original and Conception, there is some difference among Authors, as betwixt *Pliny* and *Anselmus Boetius*, and between them and *Cardanus: Pliny* saith that they are conceived in Oysters, by a certain Maritime Dew, which these Fish (and so likewise Scollops) do at a Set Time of the Year most thirst after; and according as the Heavens are more Cloudy or Clear in the time of the taking in of this Dew, so they are generated more Fair, or Obscure; as may be seen in his Book, where he speaks of those Pearls called *Unions*, and of the Shell-fish in which they are found, *lib.* 9. *c.* 28. But this Opinion of *Pliny* concerning their Conception, is not, by *Anselmus Boetius*, thought consentaneous to Truth: For, saith he, I have taken out of these Shell-fish many *Margarites*, and they are generated in the Body of the Creature, of the same Humour of which the Shell is formed; which Viscous Humour is expelled sometimes (not always) for the Fabrick of another Shell; for whenever this little Creature is ill, and hath not strength enough to belch up or expel this Humour which sticketh

in the Body, it becometh the Rudiments or beginning of the Pearls; to which, new Humour being added and assimulated into the same Nature, by concreting and congealing begets a new Skin or Film for the former Rudiments; the continual Addition of which Humour generates an *Union*, or Pearl; even as stones are generated in the Gall or Bladder of a Man; and after the same manner the *Bezoar* is generated in the *Persian* Goat. *Cardanus*, *lib. 7. de Lapidibus*, saith, It is a Fabulous thing that the Pearl should be generated by the Dew of Heaven, seeing the Shell-fishes in which they are conceived have their Residence in the very bottom of the Deep. That which is reported of them, That they are soft in the Water, and grow hard, like Coral, as soon as they are taken out, is not true, saith *Boetius*, *p.* 84. For the first, not only common Fame, but common Experience avouches; for the latter, I know not why it may not be as probable, as for an Egg newly laid, to have the Shell harden'd as soon as dropped into the Air, when before in the *Ovarium* it participated of a Slippery, Tough, Glewy Substance; not otherwise to be supposed to come forth, than by endangering the *Fœtus*.

Unions are so much the more esteemed, because they cannot easily be adulterated. There are fictitious Jewels made of double Glass, which being set in Gold, Jewellers cannot discern from Pearl, except they take them out: Some will adulterate them with the Powder of the Shell of the *Margarite*, and others with Chalk covered with Leafs of Silver, and then anointed with the White of an Egg. Some adulterate them with the Powder of Pearl mix'd with the White of an Egg, and dried, and then polished; but these will easily be discovered from the True, by their Weight and Colour.

The *Union* is in *Hebrew* called גביש, as *Job* 28. 20. And so the Word *Gabish* is interpreted by *Rabbi Sevi*

Gerson: It is also taken for *Margarita*, פניבים; but in the *Proverbs* it is interpreted by *Junius, Carbunculi, Prov.* 11. If they be great, they are called *Unions*, because then they are found single in a Shell. If they be small, they are called *Margaritæ*, many of which may be found in one Shell together. In *Greek* they are called μάργαρος, μαργαρίτης, & κίναδος. In *Latin* the great Pearls are called *Uniones, & Margaritæ simplicitèr. Lucian* calleth the Pearl, *Lapis Erithreus*; *Arrianus, Lapis Indicus*; *Statius, Erithreus Lapillus*; *Virgil, Bacca, & Bacca Conchea*; *Pliny, Unio*; *Cicero, Margarita*; St. *Jerom, Granum maris rubri*; and others call it *Perla*[1]: The *Germans* call it *Perlin:* In *Italian, Perle:* In *Arabick, Indostan, Phursistan, Sulu*[2]: The *Indians* call them *Moti*[3]; in *Malabar, Mutu*[4]: The *Lusitanians* call it *Aljofar*[5], which in *Arabic* sounds as much as *Julfar*, the Port in *Sinu Persico* where the most excellent Pearls are caught.

The kinds of Pearl are no otherwise distinguished, but either first from their Greatness or Littleness, that is, either as they are *Unions*, or *Margarites*, or Seed-Pearl; and secondly, as they are of transcendent Purity, Beauty, and Glory; or Cloudy, Reddish, and so less beautiful.

The best are found in the *Persian* Gulph[6], (shared

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[1] "Pearles by the Portingales are called Perolas, that is such as are great, and the small Alioffar, in Latin Margaritas: in Arabia, Lulu: in Persia and India, Motii: and in Malabar, Mutiu" (Linschoten, ii, 133). See further, *Ibid.* ii, 135 f.

[2] Read *Lulu*: Pers. *lū'lū'*.

[3] Hind. *motī*, Skt. *mutya*.

[4] Tamil *muttu*.

[5] Ar. *al-jauhar*, "Jewel" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 12).

[6] "The Pearl Bank commences at the island of El Kron, and continues, varying in breadth, to abreast of the town of Shargah. Its widest part is among what are called Mandes Islands, and the narrowest off Jazeerat Boo Ali. The richest fishing grounds are what are usually termed the Bahrein Banks: they extend from lat. 27° N., long. 50° E., to the eastern end of Overfall Bank. Overfall Bank is one of the richest, but is only fished in very fine weather, being deep water, and far off shore; next to it is the Epherah Bank, where some of the most valuable pearls have been found. About 3000 boats are at times out on

between the *Persian* and *Arab*, they farming the Fishery yearly to those that bid most), between the Island *Ormus* and *Byran*[1]; and were heretofore brought into the Island *Ormus*, while the *Portugals* were Lords there; whence the Distich;

If all the World were but one Ring,
Ormus *should the* Union *bring.*

They are also found between Cape *Comory* and *Ceilon*, as I formerly declared; but these are not to be compared with the *Persian*, which are the true Oriental ones: There are of them in the Island *Sumatra*, by those that place the Golden *Chersonese* in *Java*, disputed to be the Ancient *Taproban*. Betwixt the greater *Java* and *India* there are very many; between *Panana*[2] and *Cochin* are good store, but very small, as also all along the Coast of *Malabar*. In *Borneo* and *Anian*, there are great ones[3]. The Occidental are of a Milkish Colour, and of a Silver-like Splendor, and therefore not so commendable as the Oriental.

It is consented to by some, That by how much the deeper the Shell-fish resides, by so much they are Parents of the lesser *Margarites*.

The *Indians* call the brighter, candid, or splendid Shell-fish, *Cheripo*[4], which is a kind of Oyster, of which

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the banks, and each boat contains from 5 to 14 men. As the banks are free for all, so all the maritime people of the Gulf take a share in the fishery; and it is an enlivening scene to see the boats at anchor, and sailing about—all employed" (*Selections from Bombay Records*, No. xxiv, N. S. (1856), p. 612; also see Curzon, ii, 455 f.).

[1] Bahrein, in the broad V-shaped bay that separates independent but troublesome El Katr from Turkish El Katif (Curzon, ii, 455).

[2] See vol. i, 134.

[3] "From this corner East and by South ten miles from the land lyeth the Island of Aynao [Hainan] which is an Iland and Province of China, betweene this Iland and the firme land is a fishing of Pearle" (Linschoten, i, 125, ii, 134). Fine pearls are obtained from the Sulu Archipelago N.E. of Borneo (*Ency. Brit.*[9], xviii, 447).

[4] Fryer seems to have taken this from Linschoten (ii, 135). "The Oysters that have the best Pearles in them are thinne and white, which the Indians call Cheripo, whereof they make spoons and cups

they make Spoons, or little Cups: These Fishes do generate excellent *Margarites*, or Seed-Pearl.

There are others they call *Chanquo*[1]; the Shells of which are the Mother of Pearl: These bring not forth so fair Pearl as the other, because their Shells are very smooth and bright within; they are used to adorn Tables, Escritores, and other things with; they are brought to *Bengala* for Bracelets and other Embellishments; the Custom there was to have the Virgins Arms to be set off with Monelaes[2] of this kind, lest they should be corrupted.

They are also found in many places of *Europe*, as in *Scotland* and *Ireland*, there having been very excellent ones found in Scallops and common Oysters, as I my self have found at *Sheerness* in *England*. They are no Strangers in *Silesia*, *Frisia*, and *Bohemia*.

About the Promontory of *Comory* they are found of the Weight of an Hundred Grains of Wheat, and near the Island of *Borneo*, of the Weight of an Hundred and sixty Corns of Wheat, though not so fair as the other.

It is delivered from Authentick Authors, That *Cleopatra*, Queen of *Egypt*, drank one dissolved at a Supper, of which Draught she boasted she had a more costly Supper than ever *Antonius* had; the Value of which Draught then must

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to drink in." It may be Malayāl *chippi*, Tamil *shippi*, the shell from which mother-of-pearl is produced.

[1] Hind. *sankh*, the conch-shell (*Turbinella rapa*) (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 184). "There is yet another sort of oysters by the Indians called Chancha, and the Portingales Madre Perola, or Mother of Pearle, and are of the shell fishes that we call inkehornes" (Linschoten, ii, 135 f., who describes them in detail).

[2] Either Telugu *manela*, or Skt. *mani*, "a jewel," with some blending of Port. *manilha*, "a bracelet" (Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 558). "Only fifty years ago the wearing of shell bracelets was universal in Bengal among the Hindus; but now they have gone entirely out of fashion, except in the out-of-the-way Districts. The wearing of shell bracelets was considered a religious obligation by the Hindus of Bengal, and even now a set is always presented to the bride by her father on the occasion of her marriage" (Mukharji, *Art Manufactures of India*, 147 f., 281 f.).

amount to, according to *Budæus*, an Hundred and fifty thousand *Aureos*, for thus much did one Supper of *Antonius* cost him, as related by *Pliny, lib.* 9. *cap.* 35. *& Macrob.* 3. *Saturnal. c.* 27. The same *Budæus* doth also mention an *Union* of the Bigness of a *Filbert*, which was bought in *France* for Three thousand *Aureos*, and another for Four thousand.

Solinus, and *Scrap Hager Alkali*[1], say that these Stones are cold and dry in the Second Degree, and that they are good against Syncopes and Cardiacal Passions; that they comfort the Spirits, stop Fluxes of Blood, cure Lienteries and Diarrhæas, and that they are good for the Sight: The same say *Cardanus*, *Rulandus*, and *Baccius*, in their Books *de Gemmis*. But the more Mechanical Solution of their operating, is (as all Conchous things do) either by precipitating the Saline or Acid Particles, or else as all Alkalies do, by imbibing the same, obtund their Fury by sheathing their sharp Points, and so render them capable of assisting such Diseases.

They are of great Worth for their Sacred Use: St. *Austin* in his Explication of the *Psalms*, speaking of the Twelve Stones mentioned in the Book of the *Revelations*, *Rev.* 21. 21. and of the Gates of the New *Jerusalem*, which were every one of one Pearl; saith, That the Twelve Apostles are signified by the Twelve Stones, and Christ the Spotless Lamb by the Pearl.

Their own Glory, Beauty, and Excellency, surpass their Intrinsick Worth: If they be of the Weight of Four Grains, they are worth Three Crowns apiece; so according to their Bigness, Weight, Roundness, and Fairness, their Price is raised, doubled, or trebled, according to the following Scale.

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[1] The name of this authority has not been traced—*Hajar-al-Kalu'* may mean "a stone in the kidneys."

Directions for *Oriental* PEARL; *viz.*

Pearls Round, of a White Water, worth at *London*

		s. *d.*	
1	Grain,	0— 6	1000
1 ¼		0—10	500
1 ½		1—06	300
1 ¾		2—04	200
2		3—04	200
2 ¼		4—00	160
2 ½		5—00	150
2 ¾		6—00	140
3		7—06	140
3 ¼		9—00	120
3 ½		11—00	120
3 ¾		14—00	100
4	Grains, or a Carrots,	18—00	100
4 ½		23—00	60
5		30—00	60
5 ½		40—00	60
6		40—00	55
6 ½		65—00	55
7		80—00	55
7 ½		90—00	50
8		100—00	50
9		130—00	50
10		210—00	45
11		220—00	45
12	Grains, or 3 Carrots,	280—00	40

Seed-Pearl for Apothecaries, worth from 8 to 14*s.* or 15*s.* *per* Ounce, *Troy.*

The Numbers on the Right Hand are set down to shew what fit Numbers are used in the wearing such siz'd Pearl; yet a few more or less make no difference.

Ascending the *Phœnix* the last of *November*, after a formal Valediction ashore, the next day we passed the Straits in a gloomy Evening, designing to repeat our Course to the so long forsaken Coasts of *India*; but the Wind being strong at *East South-East*, it blew directly in our teeth, that very Line we should steer. This contrary Wind detain'd us some days, but the continued Calms more; for in Seven and twenty days we gained but Nine Degrees out of Thirteen *East*, and but Three out of Seven in Latitude; nor could we reach any Shore, or meet with any Ship, whereby we began to want both Wood and Water; being Twelve *Europe*-men, Seventeen *Lascars*, Two *Armenian* Servants, and as many Black Slaves, with one *Moor*-man Servant; Ten Sheep with large Tails[1], and as many *Carmania*[2] Goats, for to waft to the Company's Island at St. *Helena*, to create a Breed; (which could it be effected, might prove of as great a Benefit, as *Cotswall*[3] Sheep imprudently sent a Present into *Spain* for the Improvement of their Wool,) besides store of Cocks and Hens for the Voyage, and four *Persian* Greyhounds: To serve these we had no more than Three Hogsheads of Water left, and Wood for Firing no more than for six days; nor yet (*Christmass-day* being past) had we any Hopes of a favourable Wind. This made us melancholy, since we were already put to Allowance, and all through the Negligence of the Master and his Mate, who lay Revelling ashore, when they should have provided better for their Voyage.

Nor had they taken other Care in loading their Vessel, which being most *Carmania* Wool and light Loading, had required a sufficient Ballast at Bottom; but on the contrary, the heavy Goods were upon Deck; which Error when it

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[1] The *dunbā* or *dumbah*, for which see Yule, *Hobson-Jobson*, 324.
[2] See vol. i, 219.
[3] Cotswold.

was too late to remedy, they perceived, being out at Sea; *& jam seriò de lanâ caprinâ controversia fit*; and now that, whereby we used to express a thing of no Value, or not worth our discourse (Goats-wool) becomes a thing of serious Controversy; therefore it was God's Mercy we were not try'd with Stormy Weather hitherto: But now we were dilemma'd, not knowing what to wish, when the Divine Providence sent us a *West North-West* Gale, which after we had measured the whole Coast from *Persia*, round the Bay of *Cambaia*, to *Sinda*[1], we were drove to *Diu*, where sounding we had Eighteen Fathom Water, and bending to the *South*, we were directed a-nights by the Light-houses; and at last out-stretching the Flats, we fell in with the High-lands of St. *John's*[2] in *India*. The Head-land of *Diu*[3] is the highest Land there in view, the rest of the Ground being low, nor is *Gates* to be seen there; it lies in *North* Latitude 21 *deg.* 10 *min.*; but St. *John's* in 10 *deg.* being a notable high Peak on the *Gaot*.

On the first day of the Year $167\frac{8}{9}$, and the last of the Moon, the Gusts blowing horribly from Shore, we were again drove to Sea till Night, and anchored very uneasily while Two the next Morning, when the Tide horsed us towards the Shore, we not being able otherwise to prevail against the Wind with our Sails; but anchoring another whole Night and Day;

> *Tollimur in Cœlum curvato gurgite, & idem*
> *Subducta ad manes imos descendimus unda*[4].
>
> By th' rising Waves we're lifted up on high;
> Descending down we in the deep do lye.

Where we had remained, had we offer'd to unfurl our Sails, for the aforementioned Reasons.

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[1] Sind.
[2] See vol. i, 210.
[3] See vol. i. 251.
[4] Virgil, *Aen.* iii. 564.

But from our Want there sprang this Commodity; our Water being well nigh all spent, the Ship was better able to live, her Burthen sinking aloft, and thereby gave occasion to bear a steadier Poise below, while we expected the abating of the Tempest, in order to our happy Deliverance; which at last permitted us to come more under the Land, where struggling every Tide, though the Water continued still troubled with foaming Billows, yet observing when to gain, we passed *Surat* River's Mouth, where rode thirteen *Moor* Merchant-men, and two great *Belgians*, and so came to our desired Haven in *Swally-hole* on Twelfth-day, where I remain,

Your Humble Servant,

J. F.

Sending you with this the General Account of *Persia*, which I had time to write during almost Forty Days floating upon these Waters; which had like to prove as fatal to Us, as the great Deluge did once to the Old World in that space of time.

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